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RELATION OF ISLAM
TO THE GOSPEL.

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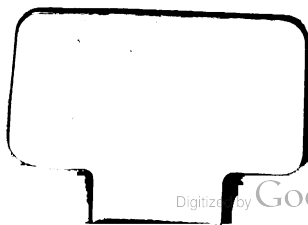
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Indian Institute, Oxford.

Presented by W. A.

Symonds



ON THE
RELATION OF ISLAM
TO
THE GOSPEL:

TRANSLATED
FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. J. A. MOEHLER,
BY THE
REV. J. P. MENGE,
OF THE CHURCH MISSION, GORUCKPORE.

Reprinted from the "Calcutta Christian Intelligencer," with additions and corrections: with some remarks on the conduct of the Mohammedan Controversy.

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1847.

Ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καθὼς καὶ γὰρ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω,
μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν,
ἵνα σωθῶσι. μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ.

St. Pauli Ep. I. ad Corinth. X. 32, 33, et XI. 1.

CALCUTTA :

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PREFACE.

THE object which has been aimed at in the publication of this translation of Dr. Moehler's Essay, is to contribute to the formation of a just estimate of the character of Mohammed, his views and motives in promulgating his new religion, and the nature and foundations of the system which he has established. It must be obvious, that enlarged and accurate opinions on these several points are of great consequence to those who are brought into contact with Mussulmans, and are seeking to persuade them to exchange their own religion for our's. A clear and exact conception of the spirit of any system is essential to enable us to choose those methods, by which its influence may best be counteracted or destroyed. Its power over the minds of its votaries cannot be effectually undermined till we become fully acquainted with

the principles on which that power depends. It is only when we have discovered wherein the strong man's "great strength lieth," that we are in a position to bind his limbs, and either to annihilate his destructive energy, or convert it to our own purposes.

The power of error generally, if not always, depends in a great measure on the truth with which it is blended. No one can deny that there are in Mohammedanism many essential principles of truth. These we should carefully search out and recognise. We should further investigate the point of view from which these several truths are regarded by Mohammedanism, the relation in which they stand to each other in that system, and the manner in which they have led to error. We shall thus be able clearly to express to Mussulmans our full and cheerful assent to those articles in which we concur with them,* and explain the exact point

* Pascal *Pensées*: Article ix, xxix. Quand on veut reprendre avec utilité, et montrer à un autre qu'il se trompe, il faut observer par quel côté il envisage la chose; (car elle est vraie ordinairement de ce côté-là,) et lui avouer cette vérité. Il se contente de cela, parcequ'il voit qu'il ne se trompait pas, et qu'il manquait seulement à voir tous les côtés. Or, on n'a pas de honte de ne pas tout voir; mais on ne veut pas s'être trompé; et peut-être que cela vient de ce que naturellement l'esprit se peut ne tromper dans le côté qu'il envisage, comme les apprehensions des sens sont toujours vraies.

where their views diverge from our's, and the probable cause of the deflection of their doctrines from the right line of truth.*

The idea of this translation of Dr. Moehler's Essay, for which the English Student of Mohammedanism is indebted to the zeal and ability of the Rev. Mr. Menge, was originally suggested by the following passage in the Quarterly Review, No. CXXXVI. for September, 1841 :

“ It is true that Akber might have quoted the Koran for the theory,—which has been adopted by most polytheistic nations, especially in the decline of their religion, and which is an acknowledged maxim of Brahminism—that diversity of religion, so far from being offensive to the Deity, is rather of divine appointment; and that if each nation lives up to its law, it may reasonably hope to share in the favours of Heaven. It has been frequently observed, that this is the express doctrine of the earlier Suras of the Koran. After asserting that God sent down the law to the Jews, and ‘ the Gospel containing direction and light,’ it proceeds ‘ Unto every one of you have we given a law and an open path; *and if God had pleased, he had surely made you one people;*

* Whately's Bampton Lectures, ‘ On the Use and Abuse of party-feeling in matters of religion, 3rd edition, Lecture v., p. 177.’ “ To point out the absurdities and mischiefs, to which any error naturally leads, is the more likely way to deter men from falling into it; but to trace up the mistake to its origin, to explain the difficulties, and clear up the misconceptions which first gave rise to it, will generally be the more efficacious method of reclaiming those already infected.”

“but he hath thought fit to give you different laws,
“that he might try you in that which he hath given
“you respectively. Therefore, strive to excel each
“other in good works: unto God shall ye all return, and
“then will he declare unto you that concerning which
“ye have disagreed.’ But this text, as has been ob-
“served by Maracci and Tychsen, and rather more
“slightly by Sale, is at direct issue with other, and it
“should seem later passages, especially the whole tone
“of the martial and intolerant ninth Sura, though even
“by its ordinances the Jews and Christians, it appears,
“might retain their religion upon payment of tribute :
“‘ Fight against them who believe not in God, nor in
“the last day,’ (that is, as Sale interprets it, who have
“not a just and true belief, as the text is directed
“against Jews and Christians,) ‘and forbid not that
“which God and his Apostle have forbidden, and
“profess not the true religion of those unto whom the
*“Scriptures have been delivered, *until* they pay tribute*
“by right of subjection, and they be reduced low.’
“The whole of this question has been very ably dis-
“cussed by Moehler, the author of the Symbolik; nor
“do we hesitate to subscribe to his conclusion, which,
“after all, is not much more than an expansion of that
“of former writers. The first conception of Mahomet
“was a national religion, a religion for his Arab coun-
“trymen; as conquest advanced beyond the borders of
“Arabia, the conception of an universal monarchy,—
“and as an inseparable part of an universal monarchy,
“an universal religion began to develope itself. The
“Church and State, according to orthodox Mahome-
“tanism, are absolutely one; the Caliph is at once
“Pope and Emperor. While it remained a national

“ religion, Mahometanism would be intolerant only in
 “ Arabia ; but the co-existence, or co-equality at least,
 “ of other national religions, so soon as these nations
 “ became part of the great Mahometan Empire, would
 “ strike directly at the first political and religious prin-
 “ ciple of the State ; and this, it may be observed, was
 “ a principle which Akber himself asserted as the basis
 “ of Mahometan law : ‘ there is no God but God, and
 “ Akber is his Caliph’ (*or vicar.*)”

In a note the Reviewer adds :

“ This Essay of Moehler’s was composed with an
 “ express view towards the progress of Christianity in
 “ the East, and the question how it might be offered
 “ in the most commanding and persuasive manner to
 “ Mahometans. It is written with so much learning,
 “ judgment, and moderation, that it might be well
 “ worthy of translation in some of our religious journals.”

It appears that Dr. Moehler was led to the study of Mohammedanism by the important events which had occurred in Turkey shortly before 1830, and which seemed to him to open up a prospect of the revival of Christianity not only in that Empire, but eventually throughout Asia. The result of his enquiry into the view taken of Christ in the Koran, was the discovery there of ample references to Him and His Gospel.

The first point discussed in the Essay is the external relation in which, according to the

Koran, the two religions and their respective authors, stand to each other. Mohammed, it was found, bases his new religion on those which he found prevalent in his native country, the Christian and Jewish, of which he represented it to be only a renovated form. He asserted, that he had been foretold in those Scriptures, and accused the Jews and Christians of expunging the passages which were favourable to his claims, though some of his followers have tried to prove, that texts actually existing in the Bible do refer to him. Mohammed thus admitted Christ to be a Prophet, and the Gospel to be the word of God. The dignity of Christ was not denied, though His Deity was. False ideas were entertained by Mohammed of the Doctrines of Christ's Sonship and of the Trinity, as held by Christians. His honourable mention of Christ and the Gospel, however, seems only to serve the purpose of exalting Mohammed and the Koran.

The author next proceeds to the internal relation between the two systems. It might be supposed, that the claim of superiority for Islam had been distinctly implied in Mohammed's assertion of his own superiority to Christ. This claim, however, is not so instantaneously apparent. Many texts of the Koran do not assert the existence of any essential distinction

between the two religions. This view of the matter, however, is in direct opposition to other passages; and it becomes necessary to seek for an explanation of this discrepancy. After stating the different solutions which have been given, Dr. Moehler rejects as inconsistent with many of the phenomena, the opinion that Mohammed's views were governed by a crafty policy which led him, while weak, to conciliate Jews and Christians by admitting the equality of their religion with his own, and when strong, to throw off the mask. The explanation which he adopts is, that Mohammed's views were at first limited to the establishment of a monotheistic national faith, and only gradually extended to the erection of a religious system which should be universal; and that it was not until after his views had thus expanded, that he thought of disparaging Christianity out of Arabia. This theory is argued both from probabilities arising out of Mohammed's original position, and from considerations connected with his history; from the mixture of political and religious elements in his system, and the national limitation therein involved; from its imposing its own peculiar national rites and characteristics, and from the distinctive Arabian cast of its ethics and of the morals of its founder. The facts of Mohammed's career lead to the same

conclusion, that for many years he had no idea of establishing an universal religion. His uncertainty as to his own destination produced an uncertainty as to his own relation to former Divine Ambassadors—Moses and Christ ; and he only, by degrees, acquired a firm position in reference to Christianity. Thus the parts of the Koran which regard Christianity and Islam as equal, belong to the earlier period of his career, when his views were not fixed ; while the idea of the former being subordinate to the latter belongs to the later part of his history. Mohammed, however, as Dr. Moehler remarks, does not clearly explain in what he considered the superiority of Islam over Christianity to consist.

The external and internal relations of the two religions being thus discussed, the author comes to the future prospects of Christianity, in reference to its antagonist. Islam, he maintains, ascribes an authority to Christianity which must undermine its own, so soon as a thinking spirit is aroused among Mussulmans. Islam is preparing the way for Christianity, for which, like Judaism, it is a substitute and an introduction among nations in a low state of culture. Christianity so evidently makes Christ the centre and end of every thing, that it is a contradiction to make it point to any subsequent revelation of

greater authority. The manifold relations in which the Koran represents Christ as standing to Mohammed, will enable Missionaries to enter at once into the very centre of Christianity. Difficulties will, no doubt, arise out of the opinion Mussulmans hold of their own superior position, and consequent ability to expound to us the proper sense of our own Scriptures: but as they become better instructed, they will see that Christians can be the only proper judges of Christian doctrine.

The union of civil and religious matters in Islam will also, Dr. Moehler holds, lead to its downfall. The decay of their Governments will lead to the decay of the religions so closely connected with them: and the progress of civilization, affecting civil institutions, supposed to possess a Divine sanction, will undermine the faith on which they rest. This, no doubt, will produce the effect of leading to scepticism in regard to all religion, as in the similar case of the Hindus.

The author next remarks how the genius of Islam, unlike that of Christianity, is adverse to improvements in science, art, and political institutions; and animadverts on the opinion, that polygamy is a practice suitable to certain climates, since it is everywhere a fertile source of domestic unhappiness. It will, no doubt, he

conceives, form a considerable obstacle to the reception of Christianity.

The political causes to which Dr. Moehler directs attention as likely to lead to the downfall of Mohammedanism, are, as every observer of contemporary events is aware, now partly arrested, and partly in continued action. Turkey has been bereft of Greece, and has suffered from the encroachments of Russia on her northern frontier : but for the present she seems to be in a state of security. On the other hand, the reforms which the Ottoman Government appears to be voluntarily carrying on, will, in all probability, sooner or later, produce the results anticipated by Dr. Moehler. So too, the advance of knowledge among Mohammedans, and the gradual clearing away of those mists which to their view overspread the history of the past, must convince them that our Scriptures still exist in the genuine form in which they proceeded from the pens of their authors ; and will, moreover, enable and compel them more plainly to perceive the true import of those sayings of Christ and the Prophets, which they now so eagerly misinterpret as predictive of Mohammed and his system.

In India, all these causes are at work. The political power of the Mohammedans is over-

thrown ; improved institutions have been introduced, and are progressive ; and knowledge is spreading. The effect of all these agencies, however, in weakening the hold of their religion on their understandings and affections is as yet scarcely, if at all, perceptible. What practical conclusions, then, can we, who live among them, deduce from Dr. Moehler's reasonings and from our own study of the subject to aid us in dissipating their delusion ? What are those principles in which Islam contradicts Christianity ? From what causes do those principles derive their strength ? What are the likeliest means of destroying or weakening the action of those causes ? To what extent do ignorance of antiquity, distorted views of our real opinions, national antipathies, and the hostility excited by abrupt and unskilful attempts to force conviction, severally operate as obstacles to the reception of Christianity ?

The following remarks are not offered as the result of a deep and mature study of the subject, but as *primâ facie* views suggested by general considerations.

Assuming that we should proceed in the way of direct argument, the relation in which Mohammed himself acknowledges his system to stand to the Old and New Testaments, certainly affords us a basis, as explained by Dr.

Moehler, for the overthrow of the Koran. Mohammedans should, by all means, be induced to study our Scriptures in connection with their own. The degree and the various points in which the latter pre-suppose and admit the facts and doctrines of the former, should be distinctly brought out; the harmony of the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel, as we receive it, in regard to the dignity and office of Christ, as the great centre, and final end of revelation; the aimlessness, to say the least, of Mohammedanism, which adds nothing to the moral precepts of the Old Testament, while it retrogrades infinitely from the purity, grandeur, and completeness of the Christian ethics and doctrines; nay, the utter incongruity of Islam, as a part, much ~~less~~ as the consummation, of the same Divine system, should be clearly and calmly unfolded. This internal consistency of the Old and New Testaments would form a powerful support to the external proofs of their genuineness and uncorrupted preservation. The pretensions of Islam being thus shewn to be unsupported by any thing in the pre-existing revelations, and on the contrary, to be at variance with their scope and spirit, the absence of any other miraculous attestation should be adduced as a further proof of the baselessness of the system. A candid

statement of the character of its founder, and of the principles to which his religion owed its success, seems also necessary to the completeness of the argument.

But it may reasonably be doubted whether we ought to begin with open and avowed argument.* It will certainly be wiser to try, if we cannot, in the first instance, do away with the prejudices of Mussulmans against Christianity, by an exhibition of its real character. It is well known, that their ideas of our creed, are not derived directly from the Bible, or from the pure doctrines current among Protestants, but in general from authors of their own, and impressions originating in the practices of corrupt eastern Christianity. Our holy religion has therefore to struggle not only with the prejudices which must naturally exist against any antagonist system, but also against the contempt and aversion excited by the conception of an absurd and idolatrous worship. With arguments and principles indirectly borrowed from the better days of Christianity, the Mussulmans have assailed its corrupt and degenerate rather than its genuine form. These misconcep-

* An account of the earlier controversies, may be seen in Dr. Lee's *Controversial Tracts* (Cambridge, 1824), and the later discussions which have taken place in India, are described very fully in the 8th No. of the *Calcutta Review*.

tions, it appears to me, it should be our first object to clear away by a statement of pure Christianity, as the end and fulfilment of Divine revelation. The form in which this statement could most advantageously be made, would probably be that of a history of the successive communications of God's will to man from the creation. Here an accurate acquaintance with the traditions and doctrines of Mohammedans would be of most essential service, by enabling the writer to abstain from all irritating topics, and to maintain throughout his work, such a tacit reference to the opinions and predilections of his readers, as would invest it with the greatest interest in their eyes, and render it most effective for its purpose.

To go a little more into detail. A work such as is proposed, would commence with the Mosaic history of the Creation of the world and of man ; describe the happy abode of our first parents in paradise during the days of their innocence ; narrate their temptation, fall, and expulsion from Eden, after the obscure promise of a future Deliverer had been afforded ; the birth and corruption of their progeny ; the murder of Abel ; the multiplication of the human race ; their increasing wickedness, and nearly total extinction by the deluge ; the preservation of Noah and his family ; the descent of the several races of

men from his three sons ; their gradual settlement in different countries ; the corruption of religion, and the call of Abraham. The history of this Patriarch and his family should be given in considerable detail ; his original idolatry ; his departure from his home by God's command, and arrival in Canaan ; the birth of his two sons, the one after the flesh, the other by promise ; the covenant made with him in regard to Isaac and Ishmael, embracing in the case of the former, both the explicit temporal, and the obscurely-worded spiritual, promises ; the account given by Scripture of the descendants of both sons, first of Ishmael, and then of Isaac ; the sojourn in Egypt ; the birth and mission of Moses, and the Exodus. A sketch of this sort, drawn up in a lively congenial style, by a person familiar with the Arabian ideas of this portion of the sacred narrative, dwelling most on those persons and events which are most interesting to Mohammedans, and most famous in their traditions ; correcting, without directly contradicting, their perversions of history, and implicitly anticipating objections, could scarcely fail to possess an attraction for its intelligent readers.

The promulgation of the Law should then be narrated, with a summary of its doctrines and ordinances ; its clear assertion of the Divine Unity, and the traces, notwithstanding, of the

agency of the angel of the covenant; its rigorous, detailed, and reiterated prohibitions of idolatry; its lucid moral code; the separation of the Levitical tribe; the institutions of ceremonial worship; and the rules of civil administration. The detailed prophetic warnings pronounced by Moses, and their fulfilment in the repeated apostacies and consequent sufferings of the Jews, should then be treated. The narrative would next proceed to the period of the Kings, selecting for more detailed description, the characters and writings of David, and of Solomon, so famous among the Arabian writers for his magical powers. An account of the prophetic writings, embracing both their moral and religious doctrines, and their predictions, would follow: shewing, how, while the conceptions which these inspired men had of the Divine character, and of the duties of mankind to Him, and to their brethren, were (though nationally limited,) clear, pure, and sublime, they were yet continually looking forward to the future, conscious of a great want yet unsatisfied, expecting glorious prospects still to come, and foretelling the advent of a mighty Deliverer by whom these hopes were to be consummated. Hence it should be shewn, that the objects of Divine revelation cannot be attained by the promulgation of pure doctrines only, but that

according to the Prophets, a certain Divine work, for, and in men, is necessary for their salvation. The fulfilment of the prophecies, both in the event of the Babylonish Captivity, and in the restoration of the Jews to their native country, should then be shortly described, and the fortunes of the Jewish nation till the advent of the Messiah (at the time predicted by the Prophet Daniel) narrated. In this part of the work objections to the authenticity of our accounts, and to the genuineness of the Jewish Scriptures, should be tacitly anticipated by a reference to the usual arguments; the matter however, not being stated controversially, but as a portion of the narrative.

The history of our Lord (preceded by that of His forerunner) would next be given; the annunciation; the miraculous conception; the hymn of Zacharias; the birth and its attendant miracles; the apparition of angels and the visit of the Magi; the childhood of Jesus; His ministry, miracles, predictions, precepts; His doctrine regarding Himself; the true meaning of His Sonship; the doctrine of the Trinity as collected from His words; (a tacit denial of the Virgin being one of the three Persons being introduced;) His own account of His own dignity, the object of His incarnation, and the fallen state of the world; the other

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principal doctrines unfolded by Him, the judgment, the isangelic character of the blessed in the world to come; the spiritual nature of the worship due to God, and the implied condemnation of idolatry. The career of our Lord should be traced to its close, and his crucifixion, death, and resurrection, narrated with such details and remarks as should prove their reality. This statement would furnish a true and interesting representation of Christianity, and show, in an uncontroversial form, what it is that we really believe, in tacit contradistinction to what the Mohammedans suppose we hold. Christ Himself being doubtless the authority they will be most inclined to admit in regard to our religion, every doctrine should be stated in His words, or by giving their substance. But it should be mentioned that the Apostles' doctrine is the same as His; and that though they may have stated some things more explicitly, yet the germ of every thing, and in fact the clear assertion of every fundamental doctrine, may be found in His own teaching.

Such a sketch as has been above traced, may dissipate some misapprehensions of the Mohammedans, remove some of their prejudices, and at least dispose them to take a more favourable view of Christianity. It may, no doubt, after all be soon found necessary to

engage with some disputants in open controversy ; yet a narrative and explanatory statement of the description above sketched, may prove convincing to men of more candid minds. And when at length we are driven to argument, our aim should be rather to assert truth than to expose error. Convinced as we may be, that their religion is either an imposture, or the work of an enthusiast, or a mixture of both, we should nevertheless abstain from directly designating it by such names, and should rather intimate implicitly, than openly express, our opinion of its real character. In matters of this kind, it is next to impossible that conviction should ever be instantaneously forced. Belief, in general, (as the processes of our own minds on a great variety of subjects may teach us,) both grows, and is undermined, by slow degrees. To come to the point at once, and declare our conviction of the utter falsity of the characteristic points of our adversary's religion can seldom be necessary, even if it were not more likely, by the present disgust it occasions, to generate permanent hostility to us and to our doctrines, than to promote the cause of truth by its unmistakable plainness. Men do not always reach the truth by a direct and consistent logical process. It will often happen that they retain, or at least do not consciously

renounce, opinions theoretically at variance with truths which they embrace. Hence, in order to generate a belief in Christianity, it is not necessary that all false Mohammedan ideas should be formally and forcibly dislodged. We may have substantial and secure possession of the promised land, though some remnants of the Canaanites still lurk in its deserts and fastnesses. These we may have no warrant for extirpating all at once by fire and sword ; and it may be hoped, they will, by degrees, die out from neglect and inanition, and the predominant influence of their antagonists. An advocacy of the exclusive claims of Christianity will generally be sufficient to show Mohammedans what we think of their religion ; and even if they should be left for a time in some doubt on that subject, still their disposition to receive the truth we offer will be much more favourable than if we had advanced an open assertion of the falsehood of their creed. Whenever it is found necessary to refute Mohammedanism, either in oral communication or in writing, it is scarcely necessary to say, that it should be done as gently as possible, and with an entire abstinence from all the most irritating topics, such as allusions to Mohammed's personal vices. In fact, it may be the wisest and most effectual method, in such cases, to put Mohammedans on

their defence; to call upon them to prove the abrogation of Christianity, and to sustain by sufficient reasons, the alleged Divine origin and superiority of their own system.

We should, further, abstain from all *à priori* arguments which are not of the most solid and demonstrative character. How many principles are there relating to the awful and mysterious topics with which religion is conversant, which we should be inclined to lay down in absolute terms, were it not that something in our own creed and Scriptures requires us to state them in a modified form! Apparent contradictions or inconsistencies in our opponents' system should not be hastily caught up; but we should give the same candid consideration to the explanations which are offered, that we would claim for similar difficulties in our own sacred records, and judge of every such point in Hinduism or Islam, by a reference to the spirit of the whole system of which it forms a part. Nothing less than this will satisfy a thoroughly fair and honest spirit; and such too is the dictate of sound policy. The knowledge of both parties, of Christians on the one side, and of Mohammedans or Hindus on the other, in regard to each other's religions, must, in the nature of things, become more and more intimate as the contest between truth and error proceeds. The opponents of

Christianity will thus become better acquainted with what they think its weak points, and with the seeming contradictions in its records; and if we find that they deal with these in an uncandid spirit, we shall be unable to remonstrate with effect, if we are conscious of having failed to mete out to them the amplest measure of justice.

The following quotation from a recently published work, Dr. Tait's "Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under present difficulties," Discourse I. (entitled "St. John's Gospel the model of controversy,") contains some important hints of great value to all who are engaged in combating false systems; and though it is more applicable to the treatment of Hinduism than Islam, yet as there are few in India who are labouring for the subversion of the latter, who are not equally concerned in supplanting the former also, no apology need be made for its insertion here:

"It is the statement of a commentator already often referred to,* that St. John's 'relation to the Gnosticism of his time 'is not merely polemical,' but in part also what may be called 'accommodative.' This word 'accommodative' may have a suspicious sound, but it is here used in the best sense. This

* Lücke.

“ writer means, that St. John recognizes and fully
 “ allows the existence of a true divine *γνώσις*, such as
 “ that for which the eastern philosophy was in vain
 “ seeking by mere human means, and through the ex-
 “ altation of the intellect. It is by dwelling upon and
 “ developing, and encouraging men to follow after the
 “ true Christian *γνώσις* that St. John seeks to supply
 “ those wants of the more philosophic mind, which led
 “ so many, while they professed to be following the
 “ simple Gospel, to wander quite away from it amid
 “ the misty speculations of heresy or heathenism. Thus
 “ he does not meet these errors by mere protest or
 “ denial—by seeking to chain men’s minds down when
 “ they wish to soar. He knows, that as truth is cer-
 “ tainly more in itself to be loved than error, so every
 “ error into which men fall is only attractive, because
 “ it bears some resemblance to a truth: for no one
 “ would follow its treacherous glare unless he mistook
 “ it for a cheering light which was to refresh and com-
 “ fort him: and therefore, the only way to stop men’s
 “ mad pursuit of it, is to set before them the true light;
 “ not to exhort them to remain contented in the dark-
 “ ness. It may safely be asserted, that no heresy ever
 “ yet gained any adherents which had not some fea-
 “ tures of truth to recommend it to men’s better nature;
 “ and the attempt to overpower error by mere protest
 “ and negation, if it affects men at all, will but make
 “ them infidels instead of heretics.. It is the worst
 “ way of casting out the evil spirit from a man’s head
 “ or heart, to leave its place empty, swept, and gar-
 “ nished, ready for receiving back a more than seven-
 “ fold greater plague than that which at first tormented
 “ him.”

"Thus, no one can hope to free his brethren from
 "religious error, unless he is able to understand and
 "appreciate those secret feelings by which they have
 "been led astray. And again, when these feelings are
 "discovered, it is vain to seek to cure them by mere
 "thwarting. Christ's religion is no dry unnatural sys-
 "tem, which cannot be embraced by our minds, till
 "they have been forced into some formal mould con-
 "trary to their whole nature. As the Lord Jesus
 "came to save and teach men of all times, countries,
 "and characters, one of the clearest marks that this
 "system is divine, is to be found in its wonderful
 "adaptation to every want of human nature. Each
 "one may find full vent for what remains of good and
 "noble in his lost heart within the wide circle of
 "Christ's real truth; and if any, following their natural
 "bent, have hurried into error, there is but one wise
 "course for seeking,—by the aid of God's Spirit, to
 "rescue them." *.*.*.* "St. Paul showed, that he,
 "as well as St. John, had a deep conviction of this
 "truth, when 'he was made all things to all men, that
 "he might by all means save some.' And a wise un-
 "inspired teacher will ever act like these two wise
 "Apostles, first probing deep to find the real secret
 "cause from which error springs, and then seeking to
 "satisfy, by an exhibition of some portion of Christ's
 "truth, those very longings, which, unsatisfied, have,
 "by their vain attempts to gain satisfaction, been the
 "cause of all the error."

"Now, it is vain to say, that the Gnosticism of the
 "Apostolic age was nothing but unmixed error and
 "folly of human wisdom. Like every other heresy, it
 "reflected the shadow of many great truths. There

“ is undoubtedly a λόγος γνώσεως, which St. Paul
 “ classes among the spiritual gifts; and it was by an
 “ ill-directed pursuit of this that men fell into the
 “ ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις (science falsely so called) that
 “ φιλοσοφία καὶ κίνη ἀπάτη, of which St. Paul says that
 “ it was according to the traditions of men and the
 “ elements of the world, and not, like the true γνῶσις,
 “ according to Christ.”

“ St. John, then, as we have already said, presents the
 “ true γνῶσις, as the only effectual antagonist by which
 “ the false is to be combated. Men dissatisfied with
 “ all the systems of contracted religion which the world
 “ presented, were seeking a true philosophic religion,
 “ suitable for all countries, and free from the restraints
 “ which confined it to one sacred time or place. Hear
 “ then St. John repeating the Lord's words: ‘The
 “ hour cometh when ye shall, neither in this mountain,
 “ nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour
 “ cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall
 “ worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the
 “ Father seeketh such to worship Him,—God is a
 “ Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship
 “ Him in spirit and in truth.’”

The following further illustrations of this principle are strikingly applicable to the esoteric Hinduism :—

“ Again, men who wished to exalt those very debased
 “ notions of the Godhead in which the heathen were
 “ sunk, and yet to reconcile the idea of the Almighty's
 “ exalted majesty with the belief of some Divine su-
 “ perintendence over this lower world, represented the
 “ Eternal Father as withdrawn altogether from any

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“direct interference with mankind, and imagined for themselves those successions of emanating spirits, who formed as it were a connecting link between the Father and His universe. Now compare St. John’s account in his introduction, of the relation in which the Eternal Word stands, at once to the Father and to us His creatures, thus:—‘No man hath seen God at any time—the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.’”

“Again, did philosophers in their mistaken eagerness to withdraw men’s minds from the things of sight and sense, assert that the human soul was debased by all contact with matter, and that it could never be pure till it had been entirely purged, and had become kindred to the Eternal mind? Hear our Lord in St. John:—‘Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again.’”

“Lastly, for this branch of our subject is boundless, and we might go through the whole Gospel in illustration of it—did these men assert that the one object of the soul throughout our whole life should be, by giving itself to the pursuits of pure intellect, to become united with God? Hear again St. John repeating our Lord’s words: ‘If a man love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.’”

“Wherever the Apostle can descry any truth glittering from amidst the mass of error, he turns to it

“eagerly and strives to purge away the dross that over-
 “lays it.” * * * * *

“Yet, observe, that in all this there is no compromise.
 “The Apostle never forgets that, though there are
 “glimmerings of truth in the system he directly op-
 “poses, the great mass of it is dangerous and fearful
 “error. He is not contented with correcting those
 “false statements with which the true notions were
 “adulterated ; insisting for example, on what the lovers
 “of the false *γνώσις* had forgotten, that the true reli-
 “gious wisdom is united indissolubly with faith—that
 “it is only by active, obedient, loving faith, not by any
 “mere effort of the intellect, that the inscrutable can
 “be known. Still further, he never hesitates to bring
 “forward, in the most pointed way, those peculiar
 “doctrines of the Gospel which the Gnostics disal-
 “lowed. Did they hold our Lord to be but the first
 “of inferior spirits, emanating from God in time? St.
 “John declares distinctly that he was in Himself the
 “Eternal God. Did they hold that matter was essen-
 “tially all full of evil, incapable of regeneration, and
 “quite abhorrent from the Divine nature? He asserts
 “without any qualification, that the Eternal Word be-
 “came flesh. Did they reject as altogether shocking
 “to their notions of the Deity, the possibility of the
 “permanent union of any Divine being with the suffer-
 “ing Jesus? St. John enters into distinct historical
 “details to show how the Eternal Son of God was in-
 “sulted, crucified, died, and was buried.”

The following remarks may also be cited as
 in some measure confirmatory of what has been
 above urged, in regard to the most judicious

mode of conducting the Mohammedan controversy :—

“ Plainly, it must be for some wise reason, that not
 “ one single book of Scripture is written in a directly
 “ dogmatical form; and if we ask why this is in the
 “ other books, the question occurs still more naturally
 “ as to a book written under the peculiar circumstances
 “ of St. John’s Gospel. It might at first sight appear
 “ strange, if dangerous errors were prevailing among
 “ ourselves, that the answer to them should be not
 “ any directly polemical attack on the arguments of
 “ the false teachers, nor any distinctly explanatory
 “ statements, like the apologies of old, of that truth
 “ which its antagonists first misrepresented and then
 “ denied, but a history of those holy men by whom the
 “ truth we love was taught; yet observe, that with the
 “ difference of its being a history of the Lord, and not
 “ of any holy men, that lies before us, this is the very
 “ form by which the Spirit of God guided St. John to
 “ resist error. It is not the distinctive form either of
 “ dogmatical or of polemical writing which he adopts,
 “ either in this work, or when he exhorts his beloved
 “ converts by letter, to beware of the same dangerous
 “ errors. In the Gospel he gives them history or
 “ biography; in the Epistles, practical exhortations to
 “ a life of holiness: in both cases the form is adopted
 “ surely, if we may say so, not without the deepest
 “ wisdom.”

“ There might, it is true, be that in the peculiar
 “ features of the heresy which St. John opposed, dis-
 “ torting, as it did, and misrepresenting, or explaining
 “ away, the facts of our Lord’s birth, life, and death,

“ which called for a plain historical statement as its
 “ best answer.” * * * * *

“ But there are also other and deeper reasons for
 “ St. John’s here adopting this form. Who knows not
 “ that mere dogmatical statements of Christian Doc-
 “ trine are cold and powerless, compared with that
 “ spiritual energy with which it becomes invested when
 “ set forth in the holy lives and deaths of those whose
 “ every act and word embodied it?” * * * * *

“ And if such be the influence of the lives of weak,
 “ and fallible and sinful men, what wonder that the
 “ Holy Spirit suggested to St. John that no arguments
 “ against error, or laboured statements of systematic
 “ truth, could ever gain one thousandth part of the
 “ influence possessed by a simple narrative of what the
 “ Lord Jesus did and said ! What cure for heresy, like
 “ the thought of that converse which was living in the
 “ memories of all who heard it—the impression of which,
 “ once received even from the narrative of another,
 “ could never be erased from any feeling heart !”

The following note of Mr. Milman on the
 50th Chapter of Gibbon, (Milman’s Gibbon, 2nd
 Edition, 1846, Vol. v. p. 41,) alludes to a new
 German work on Mohammed, by Dr. Weil, of
 Heidelberg, the author of another work lately
 translated into English under the title of ‘The
 Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud.’

“ A new Life, by Dr. Weil (Stuttgart, 1843) has
 “ added some few traditions, unknown in Europe. Of
 “ Dr. Weil’s Arabic Scholarship, which professes to

“correct many errors in Gagnier, Maracci, and in M. Von Hammer, I am no judge. But it is remarkable that he does not seem acquainted with the passage of Tabari, translated by Colonel Vans Kennedy, in the Bombay Transactions, (Vol. iii.) the earliest and most important addition made to the traditionary life of Mahomet. I am inclined to think Colonel Vans Kennedy’s appreciation of the Prophet’s character, which may be overlooked in a criticism on Voltaire’s Mahomet, the most just which I have ever read. The work of Dr. Weil appears to me most valuable in its dissection and chronological view of the Koran.”

If this work of Dr. Weil’s is of a sound and judicious character, it might be an useful study for his numerous countrymen who are labouring for the subversion of Mohammedanism in this country.

It appears that Mr. Washington Irving also promises a new life of Mohammed.

J. M.

AZIMGURH : *Christmas*, 1846.

ADDENDUM.

The following German works on Mohammedanism, may be added to the number of those above noticed.

I. Dr. J. Döllinger's *Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer innern Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker. Eine historische Betrachtung.* Published by J. G. Manz, Regensburg, (Ratisbon.) The Publisher's notice of the object of this book is as follows—"This treatise undertakes a task hitherto unattempted at the same length; viz. to represent the spirit and character of the Muhammedan religion, as it has displayed itself especially in its maturity and later development, and in its effects upon the life of individuals, of families, and of States, with a comparative retrospect to the circumstances of Christianity. The materials are derived entirely from original sources. A critical survey of the Moslemite sects, with the causes of their rise and their effects, forms a principal part of the work."

II. Gerock's *Christologie des Korans.* (Place and date of publication unknown.)

III. Umbreit's review of the above in the Periodical called *Studien und Kritiken*, 1841, I. 256.

IV. Geiger's *Was hat Mohamed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen.* (Place and date of publication unknown.)

LIFE
OF
JOHN ADAM MÖHLER.

[Taken from the English Review, No. III. pp. 7 to 9, Note.]

JOHN ADAM MÖHLER was born May 6, 1796, at Igersheim, near Mergentheim, in the kingdom of Würtemberg. Early indications of talent induced his father, who was a wealthy innkeeper, to afford him the opportunity of a superior education, by sending him successively to the Gymnasium at Mergentheim, the Lyceum at Ellwangen, and, lastly, the university of Tübingen. Having in the last named place passed through the regular four years' course of theological studies, he obtained priest's orders in 1819. After performing for a short time the functions of a parochial minister, he returned to the university, and in the year 1822 received an appointment as *Privat Dozent*, or private lecturer of "Catholic" theology, with a twelvemonths' leisure, and a pecuniary allowance to enable him to visit the principal universities of Germany, before he entered on his new office. On his return to Tübingen he commenced his career as an academic teacher by lectures on Church history, on the Fathers, and on the Canon law; and in 1825 he first appeared as an author with a work entitled "The Unity of the Church, or the Principle of Catholicism." Shortly after, he received the offer of a professorship at Freiburg in the Breisgau, which he declined, and in consequence was promoted to the post of "Professor Extraordinary" at Tübingen. In the year 1827 he published a larger work, in two volumes, under the title, "Athanasius the Great and the Church of his time, in her struggle against Arianism." Although the subject of this work was strictly historical and antiquarian, yet it was not without a direct bearing upon the state of the Church at the time of its publication. Indeed it is far from improbable that the choice of it was suggested to Möhler by the analogous conflict between the

orthodox faith, at that time chiefly, and in Möhler's view no doubt exclusively, represented by the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, and the Socinianising notions of the Rationalists, whose ascendancy in the Protestant Church, especially in the Southern part of Germany, would naturally lead him to identify Protestantism itself with Rationalism, or at least to consider the latter as the legitimate offspring of the former. The approbation with which this work was received, was very general, and procured for its author the offer of a theological chair at Breslau, in Silesia. This too he declined, and his elevation to the dignity of Professor Ordinary of Theology at Tübingen, and the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred on him by the "Catholic" faculty of that university, was his reward. Still pursuing the line of thought and study which had led to the publication of "Athanasius the Great," Dr. Möhler now began to deliver public lectures on the doctrinal differences between "Catholics" and Protestants, and in the year 1832 published the first edition of his "Symbolic." The sensation produced by the appearance of this work throughout Germany was very great, and the controversy, which forms the subject of this article, was the consequence. The tone taken by Dr. Baur, Professor of Theology in the "Protestant faculty" of Tübingen, and in this sense, therefore, Dr. Möhler's colleague, seems to have greatly embittered the life of the latter. Dr. Baur's book appeared (the first edition) in 1833, and in 1834 Dr. Möhler published his reply, "Further Inquiries," &c. Whether the unpleasantness of his position, in consequence of the personal turn which the controversy had taken, was the sole cause of his dissatisfaction, or whether he had reason to think that the Government of Würtemberg looked upon him, as upon the author of a great disturbance in the university, with a less favourable eye, we cannot say; certain it is, that Dr. Möhler was now open to offers from foreign universities, after having twice refused them. Nor was he long without them. The Prussian Government renewed its attempt to secure his services for a "Catholic" chair of theology in one or other of its universities; and negotiations were set on foot with a view to his appointment at Bonn or Münster. These, however, were rendered abortive by the interference of the Archbishop of Cologne,

Count Von Spiegel, who objected to some of the opinions propounded in Dr. Möhler's first work on "The Unity of the Church," and made their public retraction, which Dr. Möhler refused, the condition of his consent to the projected appointment. Meanwhile a chair of theology became vacant at the purely "Catholic" university of Munich, and the Bavarian Government having offered it to Dr. Möhler, he removed thither in the early part of the year 1835. Church history, the Fathers, and exegetical lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, and on other Epistles of St. Paul, were the principal subjects which occupied him in his new position. But his activity was soon interrupted by disease. Before he left Tübingen, his health had, probably through vexation and anxiety, suffered considerably; at Munich he rallied at first; but in the latter part of the year 1836, a slight attack of cholera, which was then raging in that city, reduced his already impaired constitution to a state of great and permanent debility. In the summer of 1837 his medical advisers induced him to discontinue his academic labours, and to retire, in search of health, to Meran, in the Tyrol. Here he recovered partially, and was enabled to resume his lectures at Munich at the commencement of the year 1838; he had not, however, done so long, before his disease, which now assumed the decided form of pulmonary consumption, again incapacitated him. With a view to relieve him from the duties of his academic office, the King of Bavaria presented him to the deanery of Würzburg, in March, 1838; a dignity which he did not long enjoy, as after a short period of great suffering, he expired on the Thursday in Holy Week, the 12th of April, of the same year.

Besides the larger works before mentioned, Dr. Möhler published various essays in different periodicals, and chiefly in the "*Theologische Quartalschrift*," the organ of the Roman Catholic Divines of Tübingen, to which his influence and co-operation gave from the year 1828 a new and a superior character. Those essays, which since Dr. Möhler's death, have been published in a collected form by Dr. Döllinger, treat of the following subjects:—The dispute between St. Jerome and St. Augustine on Gal. ii. 14; the date of the epistle to Diognetus attributed to St. Justin, with an analysis of its contents; St. Anselm and his times;

priestly celibacy; the relation between the universities and the state historically considered; fragments on the false decretals; the relation of Islam to the Gospel; the origin of Gnosticism; the state of the Church during the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th centuries; St. Simonianism; fragments on the abolition of slavery; letter to the *Abbé Bautaur*, of Strasburg, on his system of philosophy; and two articles on the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne.

Such are the fruits of Dr. Möhler's literary career of no more than twelve years' duration. Other works of larger compass, and of deep literary and theological interest were contemplated by him, and partly prepared, when "*talía agentem atque meditantem mors prævenit.*" Among them were "a History of Monachism in the West," and a still more extensive work on ecclesiastical history, besides a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Fragments of his "History of Monachism" are inserted in Dr. Döllinger's collection of his essays. The materials for the other two works which he had projected, were not sufficiently digested to admit of their being made public. There is, however, another posthumous publication now in progress: viz. Dr. Möhler's lectures on patristic literature, the editorship of which has been undertaken by his friend and colleague, Dr. Reithmayr, Professor of Theology in the University of Munich.

Essay

ON

THE RELATION OF ISLAM

TO

THE GOSPEL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE great events in the East, which for several years have been attracting general attention, and which by the most unexpected changes at their commencement, and during their continuance, not less than by the most desirable results at their close, continue to keep it up, have likewise afforded new matter for the literary activity of the north-west of Europe. Not only were innumerable geographical, ethnographical, statistical and historico-political works compiled and sent forth into the world, which had reference to Greece and the Roman Empire; but the religious Church-life of Greeks and Turks likewise, became anew the objects of various explanations and extensive researches. I, for my part, not only felt myself compelled minutely to observe all these phenomena of the times, especially as far as they had reference to the religious sphere of the Church, but also to meditate on the future religious aspect of the East, in so far as the phenomena of the past and the present offer us any connecting link with the future, and justify us in drawing careful conclusions. I cherished the hope, that with the expected political revolutions of the East, Christianity likewise would begin to flourish anew. This view I by no means confined to the new Greek empire,

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the formation and development of which we all accompany with prayers for a blessing ; but rather, on the not unfounded supposition, that the most thorough political revolutions, perhaps after a few decenniums shall have elapsed, will remodel the relations of the whole of Asia,—the question, in what relation Christianity, for centuries oppressed in the East, will then stand in towards Islam, afforded me much matter for thought. I put the question to myself, whether the Gospel in juxtaposition with Mohammedanism, will not arise anew ; and in this instance also prove its world-changing, all-transforming power, establish true humanity and living science, and in consequence of this, breathe into the Asiatic States a new, and at the same time, a milder and a higher spirit ? Having these objects in view, I examined the essence of Islam more carefully than formerly ; and I more particularly endeavoured to discover, how Islam regarded Christianity. Islam was, so to speak, obliged, when it united itself to the circle of the other phenomena in the world of men, and endeavoured to gain for itself patrons and friends, to give its opinion of Christianity, and to point out, and, if possible, to establish the position it occupied in regard to the latter. Mohammed, as is well known, by no means trusted merely to material weapons, but on the contrary, wrote down in a book his feelings, ideas, and thoughts respecting God, the world, and man, and all those relations with which he came into contact. And attentively considering this book, I discovered a great richness of views respecting Christ, the Gospel, and Christianity ; and I presume to publish the results of the enquiry respecting the relation in which Jesus Christ, according to the Koran, stands to Mohammed, and the Gospel to Islam, however crude these in themselves may be. These enquiries will then possibly open to us a view into the oriental future. I, however, cherish the hope, that perhaps the interest attaching to the events of the day will secure to the subject we have chosen, that sympathy which the treatment of it can by no means be said to claim.

In the first part, I shall consider the external relations, which, according to the Koran, obtain between Islam and Christianity : in the second, I shall pass on to determine their internal relation : and the third part will have for its object the endeavour to point out what kind of destiny Islam will have to experience.

Part I.

Inquiry into the external relations, which, according to the Koran, obtain between Jesus and Mohammed ; and between the Gospel and Islamism.

No form of religion has ever existed, which did not cherish the desire of being considered as resting upon an historical foundation, and therefore endeavour to show, that it had been preparatively introduced in long by-gone ages. All religions recently sprung up, naturally endeavour to unite that which is most opposite ; viz.—they wish to satisfy the more advanced and higher wants of the present, and at the same time to be considered as belonging to the most ancient times. From this fact we may gather, that men, and especially the more celebrated and intellectual among them, intuitively fear to proceed arbitrarily in matters belonging to religion, and hence desire to discover a deeper foundation, than the unassisted efforts of the mind are able to afford. Viewing the subject in this light, it gives us a convincing proof of the necessity of a Divine Revelation, inasmuch as it affords a proof of the deeply engraven suspicion in the mind of man in reference to such religious opinions as have spontaneously risen within him. Thus the original moral constitution of man requires a *Positive Divine Revelation* ; and will God not satisfy this desire so strongly impressed on our minds ? It is a most singular phenomenon,

and yet by no means of rare occurrence, that the person who denies this moral constitution of man, does, at the same time, recognise it, though of course without being aware of, or desiring it. To prove this, I need only allude to the fact, that many of our cotemporaries, whilst they reject the authority of Christ, yet do every thing in their power in order to obtain His authority to authorize their rejection of Him. Hence it is evident, that they always take His authority for granted ! Nay, they even appear in a mysterious manner to be governed by the authority of Christ to such a degree, that they do not hesitate to explain His and the Apostles' words often contrary to all the laws of language, of thought, and of history, in order artificially to obtain for themselves an apparent authority, which they, evidently self-deceived, prefer to the real one.

Mohammed likewise felt, as much as any one of the fallen race of men, the necessity of obtaining for himself an historical foundation, and of designating Islam, (though apparently something new) as a member accurately fitting into the series of Revelations already extant.

Now, keeping this necessity in mind, he must have considered Judaism and Christianity as the most desirable foundations for his new scheme, when attentively reflecting on the state of Arabia, his native land. The votaries of the above mentioned religions in that country were so numerous and powerful, that they used to struggle for the possession of the throne of the Hamyarites, and not without well grounded hopes, that they would be able to maintain the regal dignity, if once obtained. They indeed succeeded in raising alternately such kings to the throne as were followers of their respective creeds. It is also worthy of observation, that Jews and Christians, as well as the heathen inhabitants of the land, venerated the same forefather, Abraham, respecting whom, the latter, i. e. the Ishmaelites, went so far as to assert, that he, together with his son Ishmael, had founded the Kaaba in Mecca, the great sanctuary of the

Arabs.* They called him by the same name as the Jews and the Christians, changing but two of its letters in accordance with their dialect, viz. Abraham into Ibrahim. Much, therefore, it is evident, could be gained by vividly reminding all of this common derivation. If, now, Mohammed connected himself with the Judæo-Christian history, he might have hoped (even leaving out of the question the desirable historical foundation) to unite in his person, at least in Arabia, the three branches, which for centuries past had parted out of one stem, and to bring back peace and union.† For, notwithstanding the common ancient traditions of Jews, Christians, and Arabs, the cause of the fearful revolutions and wars, which shook the Peninsula, during the whole of the sixth century, to its very foundations, was no other than the different religious opinions of the three parties. Jews, as well as Christians, had established their power by numbers of them entering, and settling down in the land, but chiefly by proselytizing the aborigines to their respective creeds. Their very presence, therefore, could not but be grievous to those who did not abandon their ancient popular superstitions, and must have renewed again and again their hatred against these innovators. But though Jews, as well as Christians, were hated by the remaining Idolaters, yet they by no means agreed among themselves. Thus Zunovas, a prince of the Jewish persuasion, was attacked by the Christian king of Abyssinia, not merely because he oppressed and persecuted the Christians in the realm, according to the one-sided view of Procopius,‡ but also because many of

* In Sura 2nd. v. 128, Mohammed confirms this legend.

† Sur. 16, v. 120. 123.

‡ De bello Persico, l. I. 6. 20.

§ Assemani. Bibliothec. Orient. Vol. i. p. 367, Act. Arethæ. Baron. 522, § 23.

Walch in the Nov. Comment. Soc. Reg. Scient. Götting. Vol. iv. 1773, P. ii. p. 22, seqq. puts together the accounts of Arabic authors collected by Pococke, D'Herbelot, Abraham Echellensis, &c.

those were executed,* who refused to abjure Christianity and embrace Judaism. And Abraham, who was raised to the throne of the Hamyarites by *Nagush*, the Abyssinian king, could by no means gain the love of the different religious parties. He forbade the visiting of the Kaaba, on account of which the minds of many were so much embittered, that Chosroes, the Persian monarch, obtained many friends in Yemen, and at last was able to change this beautiful country into a Persian province.

Now, Mohammed appealed to the Gospel and the books of the Old Testament, and thus endeavoured to persuade the world, that the new religion he was commissioned to propagate, was at the same time as old as the Jewish and Christian faith, and that he did nothing but propound this faith in a renovated form ; whilst he might at the same time indulge the hope of becoming a mediator between the conflicting tribes of the Arabs. Had Mohammed taken the broad view of that connection which obtains between himself and the Judæo-Christian history, he would have expressed the truth ; for Mohammed is inconceivable apart from Moses, the prophets, and Christ, since the essential substance of the Koran is entirely derived from the Old and New Testaments. But he represented the connection in a quite different, and far narrower sense, asserting that the prophets of the Old Testament and Christ had actually prophesied of his coming in after ages, and thus given their testimony, centuries before, to his being an ambassador of God. But since the prophecies of the SS. did not appear to

* According to Assemani. Bibliothec. l. c. Simeon Betharsanensis informs us from a letter of Zunovas, addressed to Almundar, an Arabian Prince, that Zunovas had massacred 200 clergymen at Taphra ; and it appears from another source, that in Negrana (l. c. 373) he put to death 340 men, who belonged to the most respectable families of the town. These accounts prove, that especially in Homeria a great number of the inhabitants were Christians, and lead to much more certain conclusions, than the otherwise uncertain, perhaps exaggerated, account of 20,000 Christians having lost their lives in those days. It ought, however, to be kept in mind, that there were many Christians in every part of Arabia.

favour Mohammed's views, he asserted, that Jews as well as Christians, had corrupted their Scriptures, and expunged those prophecies which had reference to him. And, judging from the way and manner in which Mohammed alludes to this, he must have been persuaded that the ancient prophets had prophesied of, and regarded him, as the last of the prophets. Thus he never in the Koran gives a particular account of the fraud he believed the Jews and Christians had practised upon him, but takes it always for granted, as a known fact. It is always with feelings of the most bitter grief, that he refers to the impossibility of proving clearly to all the world his claims to the prophetic dignity, and he loudly complains of Jews and Christians, that in reference to him they had been guilty of acting contrary to their own consciences. He even accuses Jews and Christians in the 3rd S. v. 185, of having been corrupted by gifts of money from their chiefs, and having thus, for the sake of gain, suppressed the prophecies which had reference to him. In the 89th v. of the 2nd S., he complains of the envy of the Jews, which would not allow them to admit that another nation besides themselves could be selected to bless the world with a prophet, but caused them to limit the all-embracing loving-kindness of God to a single nation. In the same, i. e. the 2nd S. as also in the 3rd, v. 21 and v. 103, he writes about the Jews as follows: "They had always been in the habit of killing the prophets, and therefore he was not surprised, that they should corrupt their SS. that they might be able to reject him, the new prophet." He also tells the Christians, that by attentively perusing their own holy books, they might as certainly ascertain who he was, as a father recognizes the features of his son, but that they denied him for no other reason than the wickedness of their hearts. He flatters them, and especially the monks, in every way possible, in order to prevail upon them to give up the Biblical treasures they had secreted, and he goes so far as to threaten them and the Jews with the most terrible divine punishments if they would not be

prevailed upon to reveal those prophecies, which had reference to him ; he therefore still hoped that they might at last give up the so long refused testimonials.

Now the assurance of Mohammed, that a prophetic relation existed between Islam and Christianity, influenced some of his followers so much, that they endeavoured scientifically to prove the Old and New Testaments to have been altered from what they were originally ; and it cannot be denied, that several arguments, especially those produced by Ismael, the son of Ali, and Algazel were at least brought forward with acuteness and learning. Others, however, e. g. Ahmed, the son of Abdolhalim, endeavoured to prove, that neither in the Old nor the New Testament were prophecies wanting, which had reference to Mohammed, and with the assistance of an allegorico-mystical explanation of the SS., they succeeded in making the thing probable, at least for the inhabitants of the East. They not merely made reference to the Paraclete promised by Christ, who, according to them, had appeared in the person* of Mohammed, but also to Christ's parable respecting the workmen in the vineyard, who had been engaged at three different hours of the day, and yet received the same wages. According to their interpretation, those who had been first engaged, were the Jews, the second, the Christians, and therefore the last, the Mohammedans. But what appears most convincing to the followers of Mohammed is, doubtless the passage in Deut. the xxxiii Chap. : " The Lord came from Sinai and rose up from Seir unto them ; he shined forth from Mount Paran." For like as (so say the Arabian Theologians) Mount Sinai denotes the Jewish Dispensation, and Mount Seir, which is situated in Galilee, the Christian, so must the Paran chain of mountains

* What is stated by Luders in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Staaten und Völker* Vol. ii. Part I. p. 194, appears to be incorrect, viz. that Mohammed himself had referred the promise of the Paraclete to his own person. The account in Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophie der Geschichte* Vol. ii. p. 77, must likewise be corrected according to what we have mentioned above.

situated in Arabia, denote Islam.* And certainly, if we take into consideration how much weight is attached to mountains throughout antiquity, when mention is made of the origin of religions;—if we consider with what devotion Hindoos, (not to mention the Olympus of the Greeks,) ascend Mount Meru, and in the direction of the source of the Ganges, where the worship of Brahma originated;—with what veneration the Persians looked upon the Albordi, and the Egyptians upon those mountains from which descend the cataracts of the Nile, and how the Phrygians worshipped Kybele, the benign mountain-mother; we can well understand how the inhabitants of the east could discover in the above fortunate words the most triumphant proofs of Mohammed's prophetic dignity.

Now Mohammed once having asserted, that Christ had announced him, it was evident, that he recognized Christ as a prophet, and the Gospel as the Word of God. The Koran always mentions the Gospel as a book which contains extraordinary Divine instructions. It would appear that Mohammed was accordingly in the habit of calling Christians (for example, in S. 5, v. 39) "reverers of Scripture," by which he meant to indicate their great privilege of being in possession of a Divinely revealed book. Further, when Mohammed refers to the means by which the Divine favour is obtained, very frequently, in addition to the reception of the Koran, that of the Old and New Testaments is likewise expressly required. This is proved by the 4th v. of the 2nd S.; and agreeing with this the 4th S. v. 161, calls the Gospel, "the illuminating book"; and in the 5th S. v. 54, it is honourably mentioned as the "light" and the "guide of life." Passages even are not wanting in the Koran, which say, that like as the Gospel confirmed the Old Testament, so the Koran established the former. Compare S. 2, v. 41, 91, and 97; then S. 5, v. 54—56.

* Compare Lud. Maraccio *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*. Patav. 1698, P. I. fol. 15, Seqq.

Now the Gospel being so clearly acknowledged by Mohammed as of Divine origin, he could not possibly deny altogether the dignity of Christ. He of course denied the Divinity of Christ. He supposed that this doctrine not only has no foundation in the SS., but that Christ plainly contradicts it. (S. 5, v. 122 and S. 10, v. 67). In the 5th S. v. 81, he remarks, that Christ called God "His God" in the same sense in which He had used "our God," thus putting Himself into the same class with creatures. Compare S. 39, v. 5. Mohammed, in other arguments urged against the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, proceeded on the mistake that Christians believed God to be capable of the sensual act of begetting, which opinion was quite contrary to the true notion of God, for God, says he, can possess no wife, and therefore no son, S. 6, v. 96; S. 72, v. 2. Again, Mohammed, in regard to what has been said just now, was very much guided by the experience of the happiness of a parent becoming only then complete when he possesses children. And, believing that Christians imagined God to be possessed of like feelings, he observed, that God from everlasting was sufficient in Himself; Heaven and Earth belong to Him, and therefore He did not require a Son, S. 10, v. 67.

From what has been said, we may gather, what kind of notion Mohammed had of the Trinity. According to him, the three persons in the Trinity are, Father, Mother and Son, S. 5, v. 21, 81, and 122. Hence he accuses Christians of worshipping three gods, though there is but one, S. 4, v. 170, S. 5, v. 82; and produces those arguments against the Trinity, which are generally adduced against idolatry: *e. g.* if we were to imagine the existence of more than one God, it would be impossible to conceive the order the universe presents, S. 21, v. 22. And as regards the Holy Spirit, the Mohammedans look upon Him and the angel Gabriel as one and the same person.*

* See in Maraccio Ad Sur. ii. Alkorani Textus universus, fol. 39.

Now, though Mohammed on account of the strangest misunderstanding, through gross ignorance and self-will, denied the Divinity of Christ, yet the acknowledging the SS. to be of Divine origin, placed a certain barrier in his way, which he did not like to break through. The Koran teaches, that Christ is the greatest of all the prophets who had appeared before Mohammed, that He was miraculously born, and that He remained undefiled by sin. The Mohammedan theologians even add, that the mother of Christ was sinless.* Jesus Christ in the Koran is generally called the son of Mary, by which is meant by the Arabian Commentators, *e. g.* by Jelaladdin, that Christ was born in an extraordinary manner. For among eastern nations, in order to denote a particular individual, his father's name, as well as his own, is mentioned; and therefore since the Koran does not consider Joseph as the real father of Christ, it is evident, that Christ is distinguished by mentioning the name of his mother. Further, innumerable are the miracles which the Koran affirms Christ to have performed. Mohammed even appears to have known several miracles in addition to those which are revealed in our Gospels. He also looked upon the founder of the Christian faith as so exalted a personage, that the death of Christ as related in the Gospels did not satisfy him, but a story on this subject borrowed from old Gnostic fables appeared to him by far more satisfactory and worthy of Christ.† However Mohammed's denying the

* The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary is related as follows in the 3rd Sur. v. 45.—“Cum dixerunt angeli: O Maria, certe annunciat tibi Deus verbum ex se; nomen ejus erit Christus Jesus filius Mariae: conspicuum in hoc mundo et in futuro sæculo, et ex approximatis Deo, v. 4, 7. Respondit (Maria): Domine mi, quomodo erit mihi proles, et non tetigit me homo? Dixit angelus: Sic Deus creat, quod vult; cum decreverit rem, profecto dicet illi: esto, et erit, et cet.

† In the 4th Sura v. 156, it is written that a person similar in appearance to Jesus Christ had been crucified instead of Him. The many comments on this passage by Arabs may be seen in Maraccio Prodrum. P. III. c. 19, fol. 63. Cludius in his work, ‘Mohammeds Religion aus dem Coran dargelegt,

death of Christ to be expiatory, may have considerably influenced him in rejecting the Gospel account of Christ's death. But further, Mohammed calls Christ in accordance with the Gospel of St. John, the Word of God, the Spirit of God, or the Spirit from God, S. 3, v. 39, 45; and S. 4, v. 170. He lastly announced a second advent of Christ, Who would then be universally received; every governor and king would then deliver his power into His hands; Anti-Christ, respecting whom the Mohammedans relate many things, would then be conquered by Him, and after the resurrection, the faithful would commence leading a happy life on earth under the guidance of Christ.* The Arabian Commentators on the Koran, *e. g.* Zamchasher, delight in vividly painting the Millenarian views, which Mohammed held in common with many Christians of ancient and modern times; they indeed generally with marked preference, and frequently with tiresome minuteness, enlarge on those passages which have reference to the history of Christ and the display of His Messianic character. I here add but the remark, that the doctrine of Mohammed just mentioned,

erläutert und beurtheilt. Altona 1809, p. 407, has collected from the Koran the frequently occurring sayings and stories of Jesus, taken from apocryphal writings, but has not been successful in obtaining a clear knowledge of the true source or sources, from which they are derived. Here may also be compared the 45th p. of George Sale's Preliminary Discourse. It is well known, that Toland, Nazarenus Lond. 1718, gave it as his opinion, that Mohammed had made use of the so called Gospel of Barnabas. Perhaps at some other time we shall refer again to this subject, and desire only to remark, that Mohammed certainly was acquainted with our Gospels, though there were no doubt various traditions current among the heathen respecting the Old Testament History, as well as concerning the life of Jesus. It is not therefore always necessary to suppose some apocryphal work, when we meet with incorrect accounts in the Koran respecting Jesus; still less is it necessary to imagine, as Marraccio and Hottinger (*Historia Orientalis*) are often inclined to do, that these stories must have their origin in a conscious fraud.

* In Maraccio ad Sur. iii. v. 51, fol. 113, may be seen many passages to prove this.

respecting Christ's coming again and conquering all His enemies is considered of such importance, that it is even found, as the 56th Article of Faith, in the Religious Manual edited by Mouradgea D'Ohsson, formerly Swedish Ambassador at Constantinople, and the book from which the Imams and Ulemas receive their instruction.* And it is even mentioned in the very small Arabian Poem, lately translated by Dr. Bohlen, of Königsberg, and containing a short abstract of the fundamental religious doctrines of the Mohammedans.† The friends of History likewise must be acquainted with the fact, that at the great revolution, when the Caliphat passed from the Omniades to the Abbasides, Abdallah I. is addressed in the following words by his uncle David, the Son of Ali :—" In consequence of a Divine decree, the Caliphat is given to our family ; it will remain for ever with it ; to the end of time we shall keep it in possession, even till then, when we shall deliver into the hands of Jesus Christ, the son of Mary."‡

Now, though no one can deny, that most honourable mention is made of Christ and the Gospel in the Koran, yet this more or less appears to serve no other end than to make more conspicuous the dignity of Mohammed and the excellency of the Koran. The latter contains passages which testify to its own greatness in such lofty terms, that the Mohammedans have thence taken occasion to propound the doctrine of its being uncreated, eternal, yea essentially divine, and therefore reject the sect of the Motazelites as heretical, because these affirm that the Koran has been created.

Mohammed himself appears throughout as the centre of the history of the world, yea of all creation, which, according to the Arabian theologians, has only been produced for his sake ;

* Mouradgea D'Ohsson 'Tableau de la Turquie.' tom. i. fol. 138.

† Carmen arabicum Amâli dictum, ed. Petrus a Bohlen. Regiomont. 1825 ; the 31st v. is as follows : " At Jesus certe reveniet aliquando contra antichristum miserum astutumque, quem tunc perdet."

‡ Compare Mouradgea l. c. fol. 139.

and Christ, as it has been his part to announce Mohammed, so also at the end of days, when he shall come again, and be received by all men, shall he deliver every thing up to him.* With these remarks we will conclude the enquiry into the external relation, which, according to the Koran, subsists between Christianity and Islam, and shall now endeavour to determine the internal relation, which obtains between the two, according to the Scriptures of the Mohammedans.

Part II.

Concerning the internal relation, which, according to the Koran, obtains between Islam and the Gospel.

No other internal relation can be imagined except that of co-ordination or sub-ordination. If the former be admitted as true, then Islam, in reference to Christianity, would only desire to be considered as co-existing; and asserting, that the internal worth of both religions being equal, any difference between them can have reference only to non-fundamentals, and that both forms of worship, in their several spheres and relations, produce equal results. But should the latter be adopted as the right view of the case, then Islam would look upon Christianity as of mere temporary authority, just as Christianity regards Judaism; and, considering itself of higher internal worth, and adapted to satisfy a higher stage of the religious development of mankind, would expect that Christians should endeavour to raise themselves to its height and adopt it as their own faith, just as Christianity most earnestly made this requisition of the Jews.

* D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale Par. 1697, fol. 600, has likewise collected the views of Mohammedan theosophists respecting Mohammed.

Now, it might appear, that to make enquiries of the above mentioned kind is quite unnecessary, since very simple conclusions might be drawn from what has been advanced under the first Part. For if Mohammed, as an ambassador of God, be designated as of much greater dignity than Christ, then it naturally follows, that his message must be considered of greater internal worth, by means of which former Divine messages would partly be completed, and partly more plainly determined. Further, if it be asserted that the Koran is an eternal book, then its contents of necessity must be eternal too, and all other books can only be compared with it, as temporal things are with eternal. In other words, one might conclude, that Islam, in accordance with the Koran, must be considered as the eternal Gospel, as without controversy the only true religion. But the truth in reality is altogether different, and the enquiry as to what is the internal relation which obtains between Islam and Christianity is surrounded by many difficulties. We find many passages in the Law-book of the Mohammedans, which evince a thoroughly peaceful relation to Christianity; they by no means threaten the latter with loss of authority, but only appear to demand, that Islam may be looked upon as co-existing. In several Suras, Mohammed expresses himself most positively, that the assertion of one religion being the only true one, rests upon insupportable pride, as such an assertion must take for granted, that all nations are not equally the object of the Divine Goodness and Providence. Mohammed further remarks, that the cause of the difference of religion must be looked for in the decrees of God, and that it will be discovered only in the other world where the truth really lies; lastly, that it was quite sufficient in every respect for Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, to live in accordance with the Divine word known to them, and to be prepared to give their account on the day of impartial judgment.

I shall now take the liberty to give the substance of some parts of the Koran. In the 21st v. of the 5th S. the author

accuses Christians and Jews of considering themselves exclusively the chosen people of God, whilst they might easily conclude from the divine punishments with which they were visited, that they stood in the same position with other men, whose merits would only be determined on the day of the last judgment. The 56th v. of the same S. enlarges, if possible, with still more plainness on the same subject. There we meet with the remark, that God had impressed a particular religious and moral character on each nation, and further, that it would have been very easy for God to unite all men by one religion in one nation ; but since it had pleased Him to do the very opposite of this, it naturally followed, that each nation would be judged in accordance with its particular religious law. Further, that it would be far better for all nations to excel each other in what is good, than to strive for an unconditional preference. All would one day return to God, who would then explain the real cause of religious varieties. Now, from this doctrine the practical precept is deduced, that Christians shall be judged according to their law, and only they, who have transgressed the Divine law vouchsafed to them, shall be considered guilty. In the 77th v. of the same Sura, Mohammed is instructed by Divine revelation in regard to his relative position to Christians, and is desired to speak to them as follows :—" Whosoever, among Moslems, Christians, Jews, and Sabians, believes in God and the last day, and has acted justly, upon him no fear shall come, and he shall not be afflicted." In this place, it is evident, that the Sabians are put in the same class with Christians and Jews, and even passages are not wanting, where the same opinions are expressly affirmed regarding Polytheists. For in the 4th S. and the 109th v. the Moslems are forbidden to use the last named nations harshly, and the following reason is given to justify this command :—" God has put honour on the peculiarity of each nation, and only then, when all shall return to God, will He declare what is truth in regard to them." These passages

sufficiently justify the above remark, that according to the Koran, the plurality of religious systems has its origin in a Divine decree, so that the professors of each worship are compelled by an internal unavoidable necessity to give the preference to their several religious opinions. A certain Divine delusion of spirit was now prevalent, which would only be removed in a future existence.

Now, if we desire to determine more minutely from the above sayings of Mohammed, the relation of Islam to Christianity, we must remark, that the Koran does not know of any important difference between them, but considers them equal as regards their internal worth; that Mohammed is only designated as an ambassador of God of a higher rank than Christ, but that his message is not of higher import; and the paramount excellence of the Koran in comparison of the Gospel consists only in its possessing a more splendid exterior; it is merely of a more noble origin than the Gospel; or since the Arabs praise so much the language and the style of the Koran, its superiority is limited to the *representation* of thoughts and notions, whilst the thoughts and notions themselves are both exactly alike.

We meet, however, with the remarkable phenomenon, that the principles laid down in the passages above referred to are not only modified, but actually abrogated by other passages; hence the conclusions we have drawn from the former to determine the internal relation between Islam and the Gospel can by no means be relied on. The 5th v. of the 9th Sura is especially celebrated among the Arabs. In it Islam is formally appointed to set aside even Christianity itself, and several other Suras, without a shadow of a doubt, express themselves in like manner.*

Now as regards our enquiry, the decisive question arises, how is the contradiction, which exists between the above men-

* Compare S. viii. v. 3, S. ix. v. 13, S. l. v. 3.

tioned passages of the Koran to be considered? Which of the two opposite opinions expresses Mohammed's real meaning? We admit, that many an individual would be inclined to disdain paying any further attention to the remarkable phenomenon which is now before us, considering it a thorough contradiction. But the requisitions of science, which can only sanction such a forcible proceeding in extreme cases, might not be so easily satisfied. In contradictions even, an internal connection, a certain regularity and necessity may be discovered; which discovery, it is true, may not be able to do away with the contradiction, but will make it intelligible. Now the first thing here to be done is to investigate the views of the Arabian theologians. One class of these, and by far the smallest, appears to assume, that the readers of the Koran must be inclined to that side of the question, which can produce most passages in its favour; now since those passages, which place the Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan forms of religion on an equality, occur more frequently, they maintain, that Mohammed declares the three above mentioned religions to be one, so as to differ in nothing else than external laws and customs. To this class belong Mohammed the son of Abdallah, and Jelaludin Yahia. Others among the Arabian literati deem it necessary to investigate, what views Mohammed expressed in the later periods of his life, and then they maintain, that these are to be received, since they abrogate all his earlier opinions. This class of theologians adopt the opinion, that the 9th Sura, which places Islam above all other religions, is one of the latest, and therefore contains the clearest expression of Mohammed's real opinion. Abul Kasim Habat Alla, in reference to this, remarks very briefly, that by the 5th v. of the 9th S., 124 other verses of the Koran have lost their authority.*

Now, as regards the internal worth of these opinions, it must be remarked in reference to the first, that it is altogether

* See the passages in Maraccio ad. Sur. ix. and Prodromus P. III. s. 1.

unscientific. It imagines, that in the province of the thinking spirit, one may act mechanically; and supposes that a man like Mohammed could thoughtlessly inculcate by turns the most opposite doctrines; and that hence his real opinion may be obtained by others, by a mere casting up of numbers. The second of the above mentioned views is of far greater worth in a scientific view; since it by no means belongs to the rarest phenomena among men, that early adopted opinions are rejected in after days. The question however arises, how can this view be determined as correct? How can it be proved, that the 9th Sura was indeed written in the later days of Mohammed? May not the Suras, which contradict the 9th, have been the last? The Arabian theologians, who imagine that one Sura is either of more ancient, or more recent date, than another, almost always rely upon uncertain traditions; for no certain account is to be met with as to the exact time at which Mohammed delivered the several Suras; indeed a very old and commonly adopted legend relates, that the amanuensis of Mohammed had the Suras which had been dictated at different times, thrown without the least order into a box, and therefore the time, when each was delivered, is altogether unknown. Hence, so long as the view of these theologians cannot be supported by internal evidence, it also is no further valuable, than as an hypothesis. And it is, therefore, quite possible, that Mohammed deposited his last will in those Suras, which express an internal equality and an eternal authority of the Christian religion, side by side with the Mohammedan.

We shall now turn to the views of the Christian apologists, for to their great joy this contradiction did not escape them; they considered it of the greatest importance, and discovered in it the most convincing proof of the Koran's containing no Divine revelation, since God never contradicts himself. Most Christian apologists deemed this polemic gain sufficient, but Ludovico Maraccio, an Italian theologian, in his richly furnished edition and refutation of the Koran, has en-

deavoured to explain the origin of the contradiction itself. He very shrewdly remarks, that as long as Mohammed continued in oppressed circumstances, so long did he hypocritically,—and veiling his ambition,—express himself with the greatest reverence in regard to the Christian and Jewish religions and their permanence; in order to place the professors of the last mentioned religions under obligation, or, at all events, in order to avoid making them his enemies. These remarks appear indeed at first sight sufficiently to explain the contradictory expressions of Mohammed. A treatise, by Professor Tychsen, in the Transactions of the Society of Göttingen, concerning the immunities, which Mohammed is thought to have granted, likewise touches on the subject, and on the whole coincides with Maraccio.* This view of the case, however, more or less, takes it for granted, that Mohammed, conscious of his being a deceiver, had been degrading religion by using it as a means to bring about the most selfish ends,—an opinion, which is altogether without any historical foundation, and which can be considered as established, only by those, who consider the inventions of Voltaire, and the imitations of them by Goethe, as history.†

* Maraccio ad. Sur. ix. fol. 306. Tychsen in the Comment. Soc. Reg. Götting. Vol. xv. P. II. p. 154. Oelsner in his work Mohammed. Darstellung des Einflusses seiner Glaubenslehre auf die Völker des Mittelalters. (Mohammed. A representation of the influence of his religious doctrine on the people of the middle ages.) Frankfort on the Maine, 1810, imagines that in Mohammed may be discovered a mixture of the most cunning deception and the grossest fanaticism (pp. 19, 27, 29). In p. 49 he asserts, that no Founder of a religion ever loses sight of his own greatness, and looks upon morality as, comparatively speaking, of small importance.

† I however readily admit, that some facts may lead very easily to Voltaire's opinion of Mohammed. The prophet once lived with Maria, a Coptic slave in the house of his wife Hafiza, when she was on a visit to her father Omar. Hafiza subsequently heard of what had happened, and most bitterly reproached her husband, so that he promised on the condition of its remaining a secret, to send Maria away. But the deeply offended woman communicated her grief to her father as also to Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, whom Mohammed loved more than all his other wives.

In truth, if we take into consideration Mohammed's certainly fabulously adorned relation to the monk Bahira, his

There arose, therefore, as may be easily imagined, a great domestic strife, which occasioned the dismissal of Hafiza for a short time, and a separation from all his wives for four weeks. During this time he lived alone with Maria. At last Mohammed made it appear, that he had been receiving revelations from Gabriel on the subject, who upbraided him on account of his being afraid of his wives, and warned the latter, that if they further disturbed the prophet, they would be visited with Divine punishments, they would be dismissed, and be obliged to render up their places to faithful, pious and obedient wives, who were given to fasting and going on pilgrimages. The repenting Hafiza was now received again, because she had always been pious and devout. (See Maraccio ad. Sur. 66, where likewise the Arabic sources may be found.) *La vie de Mahomet par Jean Gagnier*, Amsterdam, 1748, l. VII. c. 9. (P. II. p. 303.) Here, however, the above mentioned facts are in so far erroneously taken up as Mohammed is accused of adultery, which is unjust; for the law permits the master to put his female slaves in the room of wives, and by this act to raise them even to the dignity of wives. Hafiza was only, therefore, offended, because Mohammed had been choosing her room for his concubinage with Maria. (Every one of Mohammed's wives resided in a separate house.) The remarkable part of the thing consists in Mohammed's receiving a revelation at his bidding, when he found himself compromised. Another occurrence of this kind is the following: Seid, an adopted son of Mohammed, had been betrothed by the latter to Zeineba, for whom the prophet himself had shown a particular attachment for some time past. Seid deemed it necessary to dismiss his wife, in order that his foster father might be at liberty to marry her, which he did. Now the Arabian customs condemn a marriage of this kind, and the ambassador of God found himself attacked by the severe judgment his associates passed upon him. But also in this case a revelation was at his command, which was to the effect, that a dispensation had been granted him as regarded this as well as many other degrees of consanguinity forbidden to every one else. Now how are these phenomena to be explained? Do they not prove the most wilful and cunning deception? Thus Voltaire considered them, and the last mentioned fact appears to have given him the matter for his description of Mohammed. I look upon such a view of the subject as unhistorical, and confess, that if one admits the possibility of any man's being able quite harmlessly to give out his individual religious thoughts, imaginations and feelings for Divine inspiration, I cannot understand, that it is impossible for him to consider God as the cause of his other internal emotions. I here wish to remind the reader of the sacrifice,

remarkable inclination to solitude* when still quite a young man, his, comparatively speaking, rather late and singular appearance as a prophet, as also the circumstantiality with which the intelligent Khadija, Mohammed's first wife, critically examined into his claim to the prophetic dignity—and which examination solved her doubts, and lastly, the faithful attachment of his nearest relatives,—tried in the most dangerous circumstances—and who were acquainted with his ways, his opinions, and his moral character from his earliest days, we can as little discover a common deceiver in him, as if we meditate on the fact, that all which the Governor of Arabia at the time of his death left, consisted of a few camels and mules,

which the daughters of the Babylonians offered at least once in their lives to the temple of Mylitta. Herod. 1, I. c. 99. Compare Creuzer *Symbolic and Mythology*, second edition, 2nd P. page 24, respecting the worship of Astaroth in Carthage, Malta, &c.; of Venus Urania in Cyprus; (Creuzer p. 271, &c.) I further would refer to the occurrences in the temple at Aphaka, in Phœnicia: Zos. c. 58; and lastly, the Indian Festivals of the Shivites in honour of Bhavani Parvati, when communion of wives takes place to such an extent, that even the otherwise impassable chasm between Brahmins and Pariahs disappears. As regards the relation in which these festivals stand to the whole of the Indian opinions respecting the world and life, compare Windischmann's excellent treatise on India (in his work *Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte*). Mohammed doubtless appears to have been inspired by the same spirit as they were, viz. by the spirit of the world: but it at the same time appears likely, that he may have been persuaded of the Divine origin of his inspiration, and hence could act *bonâ fide*. The *bonâ fides* of Mohammed however is chiefly to be gathered from the two facts above mentioned having become the occasion of delivering two Suras (the LXVI. and XXXVI.), for he certainly would not have immortalized them in this way, if he had been conscious of their wickedness. The really practical reception of this and other peculiarities of Mohammed we shall investigate by and bye, and for the present merely wish to remark: How was it possible, that facts of this kind did not injure Mohammed's prophetic character long ago among his followers, and to this day do not cause a doubt on the subject?

* Abulfedæ *Annales Moslemici*. Edit. Reisk. tom. I. p. 27, Scilicet inspiraverat ipsi Deus amorem solitudinis, ita ut jam ab aliquo tempore solitus erat quovis anno mensem unum in monte Harra solus exigere; and in his 40th year he gave himself out as a prophet.

one hundred sheep, and a cock. Abulfeda likewise relates in his biography of Mohammed, that the latter himself was in the habit of milking his goats, sitting on the ground, that he also mended his own clothes and shoes, and that he at last died without having been able to satisfy himself with oatbread according to his heart's desire. He further writes, that frequently for whole months no fire was kindled in Mohammed's house, and that he, generally, with his wife and children, used to live on nothing else but dates and water. Abulf. Annal. l. c. p. 192. From what has been observed, no desire of governing, and what usually accompanies it, can be discovered. Yet still more inexplicable would be the origin of the Koran, in which we frequently meet with quite an original piety, a touching devotion, and a peculiar religious poetry. All this cannot possibly be something forced and artificial,—which opinion nevertheless must be adopted if we consider Mohammed a mere deceiver. How indeed can it be imagined, that a religious fire, (though it be a wild religious fire,) could proceed from him, which set on fire the whole of Asia in an astonishingly short period of time, unless the inflammatory matter had been existing in him? Many millions of men nourish out of the Koran an estimable religious and moral life, and let it not be thought that these draw from an empty fountain. Should we, therefore, take it for granted, that Mohammed was actuated merely by ambition and other low passions, we propose a kind of explanation which explains nothing; a cause, which has no relation to its effects. In short, we then are not able to give any sufficient causal connection of the phenomena. We likewise must not forget, that but very little of what is great can generally be explained by ambition, in however important a position historians place this passion. The desire of one to govern is always opposed by the unwillingness of others to be governed. If, therefore, no great qualities of the spirit and mind be superadded, or if important internal interests do not influence the minds of men, the passion to rule, as indeed all

which is called passion, will be accompanied by an exceedingly small historical effect.

Now, if this explanation of the above mentioned contradiction cannot by any means be considered tenable, how, let us enquire, ought it to be explained? We answer, the cause of the contradiction must be looked for in Mohammed's mind being at first directed only to national objects. His desires either did not reach at all, or but very faintly, beyond the confines of Arabia, within which he desired to establish a monotheistic national faith: for this reason he tolerated Christianity, which beyond his native country he thought not of disparaging in any way. He only gradually understood the connection which subsists between monotheism and a religion for the whole world; and thus the national prophet of Arabia was changed into a prophet of the world; and the national religion of Arabia into a religion of the world. By this great change also the former co-ordinate relation of Christianity to Islam resolved itself into a subordinate one.

Now, in order to prove the possibility of the view just mentioned, which the contradiction contained in the Koran, and the passages quoted, naturally appear to suggest,—it will above every thing be necessary to remind the reader, that Mohammed up to his fortieth year was a heathen, and that it was only after many a mental struggle that he decidedly confessed the doctrine of the unity of God, without, however, having attained to his new religious notions by a regular routine of instruction. It might therefore easily happen, that the doctrine of the unity of God, during the first period of his prophetic career, should be mixed up with polytheistic notions, and indeed should not at any time have been clearly and distinctly preceived by him, for paganism does not know of any but national religions, since it only reveres national gods. In Christianity the doctrine of one God is intimately united with the doctrine of one human kind, and of one religion, all-embracing and designed for all nations in the progress of time; but Mohammed not immediately

grasping the whole of what is comprehended in monotheism, at first separated the doctrine of one God from that of one faith spiritually uniting all nations, and therefore placed Islam on an equality with Christianity; afterwards, however, when he became better acquainted with monotheism, he felt himself compelled to enlarge his religion, till then confined within the narrow limits of a Semitic tribe; to give it an universal authority; and hence to transform the equal relative position of his own and the Christian form of worship into that of a subordinate relation of the latter to the former.

Now, if the remarks just made, contain the reason why our view of the originally purely national tendency of Mohammed's mind, is possible, in what we have to advance presently, the proof of *the fact* of his desires being at first limited, will be contained. Mohammed, after the manner of the old national religions, mixed together political elements with religion. The characteristic sign of those religions is their always being intimately connected with the state. Religion and politics; the State and the Church; civil and religious institutions, in such circumstances, can scarcely be distinguished. Hence it very frequently so happened, that the highest dignity in the Church and State was united in one individual. The purely spiritual, immortal, and what is common to all men, was not sufficiently distinguished from the temporal, which is subject to the limitations of space and time; the religious mind could not move free and independently, and therefore did not appear to be separated from what is local and national. Mohammed likewise did not know the difference between political power and that of religion; and he, the founder of Islam, was prince and bishop at the same time, and just because he was the one, he was the other also. The first Caliphs were at the same time high priests; and if it should be said, that now the Ottoman Sultans do not any longer officiate as priests; we have to observe that the Muphty is merely their representative.

It is also worthy of observation, that Mohammed in his double capacity as high priest and king, expressly appealed to Moses, the founder of the national religion of the Jews, who united both these offices in himself; and then confined the Caliphat to the family of the Coreishites, just as Moses entrusted the dignity of high priest to the offspring of Aaron, and that of priest generally to the Levites, that thus the most respectable family, to whom for ages past the Arabian Sanctuary had been entrusted, should be designated to govern for ever and ever.* All this most unequivocally proves the originally limited national tendency of Mohammed's mind, and indelibly impresses an Arabian stamp on his work, much as it afterwards expanded. For how could it have been possible for Mohammed to pay particular attention to such matters, as had for their object the interest of a few, if he had been distinctly conscious of an universal plan he was to execute?

Hence also the mixture of the political with the religious, manifests itself in the most singular manner in the community founded by him. It is well known, that political convulsions may, at the same time, be intimately connected with religion; a striking proof of this we find in the Persian Mohammedans (the disciples of Ali), who are entirely opposed to the rest of Mohammed's followers: it is likewise intelligible, that the Muphty should be not only the head of the priests, but also of the lawyers; we should not however so easily have guessed, that there are sects among the Mohammedans, whose sole differences consist in taking different views of juridical opinions and principles. This phenomenon, however, is a necessary consequence of the nature of Islam; which also displays itself

* It is said in the old manual of the Mohammedan faith, in Mouradgea, tom. 1. fol. 95, art. 35. "*Que l' Imam doit être issu du sang des Coureyschs, sans cependant que sa naissance soit restreinte à la branche de Haschem, ou à celle d' Aly. Il suffit qu'il ne soit pas d'une autre race.*" Mohammed also promised according to Abulfeda, Annales, l. c. p. 24, in a speech, which he delivered after dinner, when the Coreishites were present, that the Caliphat should always remain in their family.

in the kindred fact, that the teachers of Divinity and the Law are called by the same name, i. e. Ulema.*

Nothing but the admission of an originally national tendency, and therefore one that mixes together religion and politics can sufficiently explain the fact, that Islam was spread by the sword. For just because politics and religion, the State and the Church, were not kept separate, internal compulsion by arguments could not be distinguished from external force; and hence to acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet in a religious view, and to subject one's self to his power politically, were considered as one and the same thing. It happened, too, on account of this intimate union of the religious with the political, that when Islam, necessitated by its monotheistic foundation, passed beyond national limits and enlarged itself into an universal religion, the national monarchy likewise was changed into an universal monarchy, and war was declared against all other kingdoms and states, as well as against all other religions.† From what has been observed, the phenomenon, too, of the Mohammedans, when they had passed

* See Joseph Von Hammer, *des ottomanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, I. Vol. pp. 2 and 4. II. Vol. pp. 3, 372—375, 395.

† In the already frequently quoted religious manual in Mouradgaa, (*tableau de L'empire Ottoman*, p. 85, tom. I.) we find in the 33rd Article "Les Musulmans doivent être gouvernés par un Imam, qui, &c." and this is commented upon as follows, after an appeal has been made to the Koran and the most ancient tradition for the truth of the above-mentioned Article: "Le peuple Musulman doit donc être gouverné par un Imam. Il doit être seul et unique, son autorité doit être absolue," &c. The fact however, that Musulmans are divided into several kingdoms appears to contradict this. But as regards this apparent contradiction we have to observe, that the fact adduced is in direct opposition to the fundamental principle of Musulmans being necessarily governed by an Imam; further, that it is precisely because the Persians differ from the rest in regard to the real successor of Mohammed that they are opposed to them; and lastly, that Mohammedan principalities in India, the emperor of Morocco and others, are always in a certain manner religiously dependent on the Ottoman Sultan, and thus at least the appearance of all Musulmans being united to one monarchy, is kept up.

over their own frontier, imposing at once on the conquered nations, the customs and manners peculiar to their own tribes; for instance circumcision, may be explained, as well as their destroying utterly the peculiar customs of other nations, just because they wished those of the Arabs to be substituted.

In order to be fully convinced of the truth of what has been advanced, we need only refer to the opposite manner, in which Christianity, when it wished to be considered as the religion of the world, freed itself from the national limitations of Judaism; for on passing over the frontier of Palestine, it threw off circumcision together with all other Jewish ceremonies, and left them behind in Palestine. It withdrew itself entirely into the province of the spirit, and therefore came forth again thence with a real universality; on this account it every where addressed itself only to the spirit; and depending on its own internal spiritual power, it permitted the kingdoms and states of the world to stand, leaving undestroyed the peculiar characteristics of nations. And because Christianity as a pure spiritual essence stood higher than these, it could penetrate them all, and only endeavoured to ennoble them. Christianity was able to work in this manner, because Christ from the commencement was fully and clearly conscious of the objects which he had to accomplish, and in regard to them expressed himself as clearly. Christ in no wise had to work his way through contradictions, like other men, in order to arrive at truth, for he contemplated every truth, truth in itself, in the pure eternal light. But Mohammed had to experience the common fate of men, viz.—to be driven from one extreme to another, without after all being able to discover truth by themselves. Here, too, it is highly instructive to refer to Jewish peculiarities, especially as it regards their apprehension and development of the notion of the Messiah. The Jews, in like manner, were not able to receive a spiritual Messiah and a spiritual kingdom of God on earth, because they stood on ground, that mixed the religious with the political, so much so, that they imagined the Messiah

to be a mighty conqueror, and the kingdom of God nothing else than a Jewish kingdom of the world ; i. e. they believed in a thorough contradiction (a particular universality), and did not recognize the promised Messiah in the spiritual one, who has appeared. In this respect one might indeed say, that Mohammed is the Messiah who was expected by the Jews, and thus far he did not deceive himself by appealing to the prophecies of the Old Testament.

We must also refer to the ethics of Islam, and the morals of Mohammed, in order to complete our proofs of what we have advanced. Like as the religious life among those nations, who possess a mere national worship, appears still too little developed and cultivated to be able to gain a free and independent existence, and hence must be dependent on the State and mixed with politics ; so also morality is in none of those religions to be met with in its entire purity. If the notion of universal philanthropy originated solely with the doctrine of one God, the father of all men, and one Divine kingdom, of which all men are citizens ; then of necessity, as history abundantly verifies, must a limited national partiality be produced and fostered by a national religion. But in addition to this, every nation cherishes its own peculiar views of the moral excellence of man, of virtue, of duty, and of justice, which possess a distinct nationally-limited character, and which may generally be traced to the relative circumstances in which man is placed to surrounding nature, or the circumstances in which he has been placed by the progress of events. Man here, on account of his moral degradation consequent on the fall, appears to have been delivered to the dominion of nature ; and the really good qualities, which still distinguish him, are, as it were, left to him only because of nature's sport, through her favouring him independently of himself. In the national gods we generally find the best which the nation is acquainted with, united.

Now, if we compare the ethics of Islam with these phenomena met with on the ground of national religions, we discover

the most striking resemblance. That philanthropy which embraces all men of whatever tribe or nation, is not inculcated by the Koran ; and this indeed is an immediate consequence of the already described position of the Arabian nation to all others. The kind of love possessed by Mohammedans is essentially a limited affection for their own tribe ; for over how many nations soever it may spread, it reaches no further, than to where the national faith and national manners are adopted. But further, the fact that Mohammedans continue to possess slaves, and that from Islam a voice has never been raised against this abomination, proves, that they do not understand the nature of love. Meanwhile, certain peculiar national customs, which the ethics of Islam have adopted and hence consecrated, are of much greater interest to us. In southern countries the natural powers evidence the dominion they have gained over man by the most furious and persevering activity of wrath and of carnal lust ; from the former of which originated the right of retaliation and of avenging the blood of kinsmen ; and from the latter polygamy, with divorce at pleasure. Now Islam rises so little above such like deformities in the code of morality, as expressly to protect them in several places (although on account of prudential motives the avenger of blood is forbidden to pass beyond certain limits. (S. 2, v. 175, S. 5, v. 40, S. 17, v. 33, S. 16, v. 126.) But while sanctioning polygamy, it recommends a connection with female slaves, if there should be any danger of domestic quarrels being caused by possessing at the same time several, perhaps proud and unbending, free-born wives. (S. 4, v. 3.)

The personal morals of Mohammed likewise are quite in accordance with the notion of a national prophet and national Arabian ethics. If the universal Prophet, viz., Jesus Christ must be distinguished by the purest moral character, because in him the common human nature was to be represented in all its purity ; yea more, if through Christ men first became acquainted with true ethics, as well as with the ideal of a

morally perfect man, even because he belonged to the whole of mankind (not to one nation); so Mohammed fulfilled only those moral requisitions, which were expected from a perfect Arab. And though he must be rejected as a false prophet, if brought before the tribunal of pure ethics, yet the Arabian ethics were obliged to receive him, since according to them his very faults must appear virtues. In this way it becomes intelligible, why his assurance of being a divine prophet was not doubted, notwithstanding he, for instance, after the battle near Ohod, in which his cousin Hamza was mutilated and killed by the Coreishites, took an oath to the effect of avenging himself* and of sacrificing thirty Coreishites to the manes of his relative; and though he at another time bound all his followers with an oath, and should it cost their lives, to avenge Othman, whom he thought to have likewise been faithlessly murdered by the Coreishites.† Considering these facts, no one will any longer be astonished, if he should discover, and even find it related by Arabian historians, that Mohammed did not conceal it, that women were his delight, that in the most indecent expressions he gloried in his extraordinary power of being able to gratify carnal lust, and that he boasted of his being in this respect distinguished above all other Arabs. He indeed went beyond all those bounds, which Arabian manners

* Abulfeda ad annum fug. III. p. 97 . . . "ut exempla severae ultionis in triginta Coraischitas statuturum voveret."

† Abulfeda ad an. fug. VI. p. 125. Iratus negabat palam, prius e statione domum decessurum, quam causae suae satisfactum armis, et sumtae a perfidis poenae fuissent. Et statim convocabat copias ad illud sacramentum dicendum quod in scriptis sacramentum complacentiae vocatur. Id sub arbore dictum fuit. Ferunt quidem plurimi, prophetam suos eo sacramento ad mortem tolerandam adstrinxisse." Other facts of a similar kind may be quoted from the same author, pp. 85 and 87. "Propheta . . . imperabat alio, ut Nodaro, filio Hareti, cervicem praescinderet. Hic enim iracundia et contemptu Mohammedis percitus, consueverat, propheta Coranum recitante, ad Coraischitas hoc scomma jactare: Iste non affert vobis nisi antiquorum historiolas. Ei addebat Muhammed supplicii ejusdem consortem infidelem alterum."

and customs had set to prevent what even his own countrymen had used to call licentiousness, guilt and crime; and he, as well as his followers, considered this conduct not only consistent with his so called dignity, but authorized by God Himself; and in this circumstance, as well as in his own peculiar physical power, discovered a proof of his being Divinely sent. And therefore we meet with the otherwise inexplicable fact of his incorporating in the Koran with his religious, political, and moral code of laws, the stories, which we must ever consider the witness of his own shame.*

Thus also here, that which was really spiritual, could not free itself from the shackles of national limitations; it rather appears to be oppressed and bound in the most shameful manner. Now should these general considerations justify our proposed explanation of the above discussed contradiction, then we may add, that many historical particulars will bring us to the same conclusion. If we minutely take into consideration Mohammed's personal history from the time of his prophetic appearance, as related by Abulfeda and other Arabian historians, we do not for many years after that period discover the least ground which could induce us to adopt the opinion, that he had any idea of establishing an universal form of religion, but just the contrary. So much is certain that at least several Suras were partly delivered before Mohammed was quite certain of his prophetic dignity. Khadija for some time was inclined to look upon the so called angel Gabriel, on account of whose appearance her husband believed himself to be blessed, as an evil spirit. Indeed he himself did not quite trust his visions or dreams, as we will call them; for a long time he shook and

* The Koran forbids to marry more than four wives, but Mohammed married 22; besides these he possessed many female slaves; his laws indeed did not limit the number of the latter. Even Ottoman Sultans for the sake of distinction did not marry more than seven wives. See Von Hammer des ottomanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung, II. vol. p. 67.

trembled all over when the time of those visions drew nigh, because he was doubtful as to the character of the Demon that inspired him,* and Khadija had the difficult task of trying to console Mohammed, whilst she was troubled in her own mind. According to Jannabi, after the first revelations, the spirit, that used to appear to him, departed for a time, and during the first interval of his being without inspirations, Mohammed used to teach and exhort none but those who were about him, without asserting that he was a divinely-sent teacher. A good while after this Gabriel appeared again, and Mohammed was then formally declared by him to be an ambassador of God. From this time forward Mohammed spoke and acted as a prophet.

But whether, even then, Mohammed considered himself, or desired his followers to consider him a prophet to all the world, may be ascertained from the following fact :—Forty of his disciples, a few years after his prophetic career commenced, were compelled to flee to Abyssinia, in order to escape from the persecutions of the powerful Coreishites; this first emigration is called by Mussulmans the first flight. Now individuals, who on account of their religious views, leave their home and native country, are doubtless zealous for their religion; we might, therefore, expect, that like as the primitive Christians,—when they, under similar circumstances, according to the Acts of the Apostles, fled from Jerusalem,—proclaimed the Gospel in Syria and other places; so those Mussulmans would have endeavoured to spread Islam in Abyssinia. We are, however, altogether disappointed in this expectation; for these fugitives, in order to be quite certain of being protected by the Abyssinian prince, said that they were Christians. Now this is morally possible, only on the supposition, that at that time

* It is generally thought, that Mohammed received his so-called revelations when labouring under epileptic fits. I doubt, however, whether this view can be correct. But it is well here to keep in mind the Montanists of ancient, and the Quakers and Jumpers, &c. of modern days, and the apparently very extraordinary state of the Arabian Prophet does not seem to be of such rare occurrence.

Mohammed and his followers were desirous of establishing a religion, which should not spread beyond the confines of Arabia. The demonstrative force of this fact, which is related very artlessly by Abulfeda, will be still better understood, if we mention another fact of quite an opposite character, which occurred during the time when Islam considered itself an universal religion. Very soon after the death of Mohammed, Catris, an officer of high rank, was according to the account given by El Makyn, obliged, because of the enmity of other parties, to leave Arabia and take refuge in Mazenderan. But scarcely had the ruler of the last mentioned country assured the refugee of his protection, when the latter, full of zeal for his faith, boldly desired his protector to choose either to confess Islam, or to pay tribute!* We may therefore feel persuaded, that from this point of view also, the assertion of Mohammed's not entertaining for a long time the idea of spreading his religion over all the countries of the world, is proved to be correct. Not before the 7th year of the Hejira, i. e. the 20th year of his prophetic life, do we discover the first traces of Mohammed's enlarged plans, which however were carried out quite in accordance with the manner of a mighty ruler of a tribe. He now sent embassies to the Emperor of Constantinople, the Prefect of Egypt, to Cosroes of Persia and his viceroy in Yemen, the object of which was to persuade those kings and potentates to adopt Islam. Mohammed here acted as a prince, and made his wish to be acknowledged as a prophet in the kingdoms of the world, the object of a diplomatic embassy; taking for granted, that if but the ruler be gained, the subjects must follow as a matter of course. Christ on the contrary begins from below, because in his view nothing but free persuasion was of any value.

From what has been observed, we may at least gather, that Mohammed was for a long time in doubt as to what was his own

* Abulfeda Annal. tom. I. p. 50. El Makyn hist. Sarac. p. 64. Compare Oelsner, p. 58. &c., where the military art of the first Mohammedans is very well described.

destination : and this necessarily produced an uncertainty as to the relative position he stood in to the former Divine ambassadors, Moses and Christ ; and this uncertainty, compared with his later decided opinion on the subject, produces of itself the appearance of a contradiction.

But further, that Mohammed at the commencement of his prophetic life was desirous to stand in a very different relation to Christianity than afterwards, may be proved from the fact, that he at first used to receive those who believed on him, into communion with him by the rite of baptism,—which custom was afterwards altered ; originally, too, the Kebla was directed towards Jerusalem, but in the 2nd year of the Hejira it was directed towards Mecca. Indeed the introduction of the external forms of religion and customs generally, which distinguish Mussulmans from Christians, as far as they were not originally Arabian, may be traced to the later years of Mohammed's prophetic course. Not before the 2nd year of the Hejira, or the fifteenth year of his entering upon the prophetic office, was he first appointed in the holy month Ramazan : in the fourth year after his flight to Medina, the command was given to abstain from drinking wine : in the tenth year of the Hejira the duty of going on pilgrimage to Mecca was solemnly commanded.* Thus Mohammed instituted only gradually among the religious community which was formed around him, a number of customs peculiar and therefore segregating them from every other community. These observations likewise sufficiently prove, that Mohammed only gradually began to occupy a firm position, in regard to Christianity, and only in the course of time

* Schlegel remarks that Mohammed forbade the use of wine, because he wished to express his determined opposition to the Christian celebration of the Sacrament. This however appears to be far fetched. In hot climates wine, as such, is not much cared for, and frequently is looked upon as disgusting. Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travels* during the years 1818-1820 in Georgia, Persia, Armenia and the ancient Babylonia, may be consulted as to the highly beneficial consequences of the use of wine being forbidden in southern countries.

was able to get over his uncertain and wavering state of mind, which produced the contradiction mentioned above.

Now just as Mohammed only in his latter days entertained a decided opinion of himself as a prophet, and only gradually organized a particular form of worship, so also was this the case with his doctrines; and this fact is of the greatest importance for the support of our opinion. We are in possession of several accounts of individuals having been converted to Islam during the earlier years of Mohammed's prophetic life, and are therefore tolerably well able, minutely to observe the changes his system of doctrines underwent. Asaad of Jathrab, the head of an Arabian tribe, once asked Mohammed before his departure from Mecca, in what, at that time, his new religious doctrines consisted? Mohammed upon this replied as follows: "He taught men to worship one God; to requite the kindness of parents; not to kill children or any other person; to shun every, even the most secret crime; not to touch the goods of orphans; to abominate lies and perjury; and to keep their promises." Besides this, Mohammed did not add a single word, and Asaad, without the least hesitation, acknowledged his prophetic dignity. Now, judging from this fact, no cause can be imagined, which could have urged him at that time to extol Islam above Christianity. Afterwards, however, he applied the Christian doctrine of Christ's merits to Islam, and asserted, that only he, for whom Mohammed should intercede with God, could obtain remission of sins, and none, who believed in him, could be absolutely condemned. Therefore, from that time it was necessary for Mohammed to subordinate Christianity to Islam, and because he considered himself the only mediator between God and man, it was likewise necessary for him to assert the universality of Islam, and to deny any further authority to Christianity.

The contradiction therefore, which we have now rather minutely examined, is sufficiently explained by the history of the internal development of Islam, viz. thus, that those parts,

which consider Christianity and Islam as forms of religion of equal authority, refer to the time of Mohammed's life, when he was not clearly conscious of his own enterprise, and as yet pursued an indeterminate impulse ; and that the other parts refer to the fully developed and complete form, or the approaching completion, of Islam. It is therefore evident, that the opinion of the above mentioned second class of Mohammedan theologians, originated in just perceptions ; and is indeed the immediate expression of the spirit of Mohammed which still works among his followers ; and is thoroughly justified by scientific research.

Thus also has been determined the internal relation, which, according to the Koran, subsists between Christianity and Islam. Now, when Mohammed felt persuaded, that his external dignity as an ambassador from God was more exalted than that of the founder of the Christian Church ; he next quite logically proceeded to the delusive imagination, that the internal worth of his tidings, was likewise incomparably greater, so that Christianity ought to make way for Islam.* And thus a certain symmetry was introduced into the contradictory assertions of Mohammed respecting himself and his work, and a certain consistency was substituted for incoherence.

Should, however, the question be asked, in what, according to Mohammed, the internal superiority of his doctrine to that of Christianity, and the more advanced religious development which has been revealed in Islam, consisted,—then we must confess, that no answer can be given. The Gospel expresses itself with the most wonderful perspicuity and inexhaustible

* Compare with this the Manual in Mouradgea, tom. I. fol. 54, No. 21. " La foi et l'islamisme sont une seule and même chose." The meaning of which is as follows : Islam is religion in itself, all other religions are merely approaches towards it. Very remarkable is Mohammed's assertion in the Koran, that every man is born a Mussulman, and that only parents make him a Jew or Christian. The meaning of these words appears to be, that Islam has its foundation in the nature of man, and can alone completely satisfy all his religious wants.

depth as regards its relation to past times in general, and to the several periods of the same in particular, and Christ, in the most convincing manner, is represented as the centre of the history of the world. Mohammed, on the contrary, does not in the least explain himself as to the position he wishes his work to occupy.

Was he asked about prophecies, he answered, that the time for uttering prophecies was passed; did the Jews and Arabs, in order to ward off his importunity, desire him to perform a miracle, he answered, that he was a preacher and no worker of miracles (S. XI. v. 13.); and if we enquire, whether as a teacher he developed his internal reason for considering himself greater than Christ, we do not even receive an answer. Should, however, any individual, who accidentally stands in the same relation as Mohammed to the doctrine of the Trinity and other peculiarities of Christianity, be of opinion, that the internal worth of Mohammed's faith consists in the expunging of those doctrines; then we reply, that Mohammed, as regards those doctrines, certainly professed that in reference to them, he differed from the doctrine of the Church, but not from the Gospel, and might therefore have imagined himself to have been called upon to restore in its purity the (according to his opinion) degenerated doctrine of the Church, but by no means to exalt himself above Christ.

Part III.

Prospects of the Christian Church in reference to Islam.

FROM the observations made under our former divisions, may now be determined, what may be expected in the course of events for the cause of Christianity in the East, in reference to Islam. And first of all, we have to observe, that the Koran

has ascribed to the Gospel such great authority, and has so little established by any convincing proofs the authority which it latterly arrogated to itself over the Gospel, that through the authority ascribed to the latter, it will overthrow its own; and therefore the Koran contains in itself the elements of its own destruction. As soon as freedom of thought has been more widely roused, and is directed by enlightened and spiritually minded Christian Missionaries, so soon will Christianity, which has partly been received into the Koran, proceed from the latter in its completeness, and every one will then be able to perceive, that in the large districts of Asia and Africa Islam has only been paving the way for Christianity, and that Mohammed has been only a servant of Christ.

And first let us attentively consider the idea of Islam being, in those countries where it has been spread, a preparation for Christianity. It certainly cannot appear so very extraordinary to any one to be told, that Christianity is not accessible to men in every stage of culture: the simple remark, that the educating wisdom of God caused Mosaism, and other preparations to precede Christianity, ought to persuade us of the truth of this proposition. In all those cases in which nations, that still belonged to a very low degree of culture, embraced Christianity, the Gospel turned towards them, more particularly that one of all its parts, which may be called the Judaical, and for which they were then prepared. In the same way as, doubtless, almost every one who is born a Christian has to pass through periods in his life, which may be said to have on them the stamp of Heathenism and Judaism, before he becomes a true Christian, born again of the Spirit; so too those nations in the Christian Church were at first raised from Judaism to Christianity. In the same manner likewise by far the majority of those nations that embraced Islam, and even many that had already been incorporated into the visible Christian Church, were not ripe for the latter; and Mohammed's regulations became substitutes for those of Moses as an introduction to

the Gospel. It is with heart-felt pleasure, that we have to remark how, in ever-widening circles, the lowest Fetiches, which so many Africans still worship at the present day, are giving way to the adoration of one living, almighty, all-wise, and merciful God; how even in those African villages, in which formerly the energy and life of the spirit were altogether dormant, the children now gather round a Marabut (a Mohammedan priest) and learn from him the belief in one God and an eternal existence, and at the same time are taught to read and to write.* The great influence too of this faith and mental improvement in humanizing the character is very clearly perceived; and travellers always greatly prefer, and believe themselves secure in those villages where a Marabut, to whom they gladly go, is residing, and where his activity has in some degree been successful. We admit, that here also the Mohammedans, in accordance with their original institutions, mostly convert with the sword; and the holy alliance of the kingdoms of Futa-Toro, Bondu, and Futa-d'Yallon for rooting out idolatry† converts more quickly than a Christian mission; but whatever

* See *Reise in das Innere von Africa an die Quellen des Senegal und Gambia*, i. J. 1818. von Mollien; from the French, Weimar, 1820, p. 52. Islam is, therefore, of necessity adapted to improve the mind to a certain extent, because it possesses sacred writings as the source of faith and spiritual life; certain promises, too, are attached to the reading of every single Sura in order to encourage the diligent study of them. It is well known, that in very extensive tracts of Arabia there was not found one person who could have read the Koran when it first appeared, but very soon and chiefly through the establishing of Schools near Mosques, this art was propagated far and wide.—Compare Oelsner, p. 159, &c.

† Mollien, p. 150, &c. In the year 1775, in consequence of a revolution, an Imam, named Almamy, as prince-bishop, ascended the throne of the kingdom of Futa-Toro. Since that time Islam has visibly got the upper-hand in all those countries which are situated between the Senegal and the Gambia. In the year 1797 the Damel of Cajor with threats and intimidations was required by persons connected with the King of Futa-Toro to become a Mussulman (See *histoire Africaine* par Monsieur le Baron Royer, Paris, 1828). Hitherto the Damel has refused to acquiesce, but his subjects, according to Mollien, (p. 57) are chiefly Mussulmans.

they may do, let us rejoice, for they unknowingly and contrary to their inclination, work for Christ.

Now the assertion, that the Koran, by the authority it ascribes to the Gospel, will destroy its own authority, can be supported by facts; for there are not wanting instances of thinking Mohammedans, who after having obtained a thorough knowledge of Christianity in consequence of having enjoyed much intercourse with Christians, especially when the latter presented them with copies of our Holy Scriptures, have discovered between the contents of the Koran and the doctrines of the Gospel, various and essential contradictions, notwithstanding that the former pretends to confirm the latter. And indeed what truth may be more easily arrived at, than that Christ designates his religion, as religion in itself,—as the imperishable, the plainly redeeming religion, which reproduces the original relation between God and man? What more easily forces itself on our minds, than the persuasion, that, according to the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures, from the Fall to the appearing of Christ, all revelations and great historical events point only to Him, and from the time of His appearance every thing proceeds only from Him;—that therefore all prophets before Him could have been but His servants, and all after Him could only be His chosen friends and assistants? And what therefore stands in a sharper, more striking, and hence more easily discoverable contradiction to the Gospel, than to find in it the proof and confirmation of a religion, which pretends to be of greater authority, than the one communicated in the Gospel? Such thinking individuals likewise did not remain ignorant, that Christianity not only asserted its superiority over every thing before and after it, and that it could not be surpassed by any thing else, but that its assertion respecting itself in juxtaposition with the Koran, can not, in reality, be proved false.*

* Mouradgea d'Ohson, *Tableau de l'empire Ottoman*, tom. I. p. 52, narrates (for other reasons than we) the history of Kabiz Effendy, an Ulema in the higher ranks of Society, who convinced himself of the truth of Christianity in the way we have alluded to.

From what has been observed, it is quite evident that the manifold relation in which Christ, according to the Koran, is placed to Mohammed and the Gospel to Islam, offers to Missionaries the most desirable points of connection from which they may at once advance, without any difficulty, into the very centre of Christianity.

Of course, it cannot be denied, that great difficulties rise out of the relation, which Mohammed imagined he stood in to Christ, for the conversion of Mohammedans. Imagining themselves exalted above Christianity, and therefore able of themselves to understand our Scriptures, they presume to expound them to Christians; to introduce us to their true import, and to point out to us how often and in what we have swerved from their true meaning. It really produces a most singular and astonishing impression on the mind, if one considers how Alhasan, and Ahmed Ibn Abdolhalim in his apology for Islam, as well as many others, explain to Christians the meaning of the formula of baptism in St. Matthew; and desire to draw their attention to the argument which the words "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," furnish against the Divinity of Christ; how, further, according to them, the words of our Saviour, "I and my Father are one" must be understood; and lastly, how the last mentioned Theologian endeavours to prove, in what manner the doctrine of the Trinity, of which he certainly knew more than Mohammed, in reality originated in the personification of the Divine attributes. They indeed flatter themselves that all insight into the essence of Christianity had fled from the Christian Church, and taken refuge among them. To prove this, they appeal with great shrewdness and dexterity to the numberless Christian sects among us, which phenomenon Mohammed, however, had already made use of for the furtherance of his cause.* It is quite evident, that the Mohammedans, in regard to the form and substance of their assertions, stand precisely on the same

* Sura XXIII. v. 58.

ground on which many Christians stand in our days ; and therefore nothing can be said against the former, which must not likewise be urged against the unscientific views of the latter. Who Christ is, and what He has taught, cannot be determined out of the pale of the Christian Church, nor be determined against it. There, where Christ, His doctrine, and His Divine power have created an enduring community, have gained an uninterrupted existence and lasting form, where He continues to be present and to work ; there, one must look for the meaning of His word, and the explanation of His Testament. It is not now our object to ascertain, whether the doctrine of Christ be true, but what doctrine is really His, and evidently those can best decide that question, on whom Christ has breathed His Spirit, who have received His word out of His own mouth, who have given it expression in every form, and established and propagated it in numberless institutions. And after we have ascertained in the manner specified, what are, historically, the real doctrines of Christ, it only then becomes a question whether this historical truth is also truth in itself. If any one is not able to convince himself of the truth of the latter, then he will, just like the Jews, reject the doctrine of Christ, as untrue ; and by no means assert, that what he receives as truth subjectively is historical truth, i. e. the true doctrine of Christ. Now the Mussulmans are guilty of confounding historical truth with subjective belief, even whilst they endeavour to take refuge behind a few verses of the Scriptures which they separate from their context, and apprehend and treat, without any reference to the church-life of Christians and its development. Now these principles, at once simple and evident, and when considered in a scientific point of view,—irrefutable; must certainly appear the more acceptable to Mussulmans, the better they are educated : and thus they will give up asserting, that Christ could by no means have taught any thing else, but what they fancy He ought to have inculcated ; just as we most willingly permit them to determine the true doctrine of Mohammed, ac-

cording to the actual aspect, under which it appears to them, who are in possession of Mohammed's spirit, and live, think, and work in it. And the reader will recollect, that in the article before us, we have always kept in mind and written with particular consideration of the Mohammedan church-life, and the internal development, and whole history of Islam. We by no means conceal, that by the exclusive use of the Koran, without taking into consideration all connected with it,—without, so to say, endeavouring to obtain our views from the very midst of the progressive unfolding of the Mohammedan spirit and life, or, in other words, without Moslemic tradition, it would not have been possible to unravel the questions proposed.

The second circumstance which is productive of hope for the spread of the Gospel, is the fact, that in Islam civil and religious matters are mixed together, as might be expected in a religion, whose original destination was nothing else than to be a national faith. As in such cases the Government is upheld by religion, so also *vice versd*, religion by the Government, so that if the latter perish, the former perishes likewise. They have the same relation to each other, as the soul has to the body; they are produced together, and end their earthly existence at the same time. Thus we are taught by history, which always makes the gradual dying away of such religions consequent on the fall of such kingdoms after a brief interval of time. Doubts, however, may be raised against the view that the just mentioned fate of national forms of worship is prophetic of the fate of Islam likewise. We shall now minutely consider these doubts. And first of all, it must be admitted, that those national forms of religion, which in the manner above alluded to have totally disappeared, had their existence in reality only in uncertain, indeterminate feelings which could not be expressed except by symbols, or allegory and fable; and in national manners, customs and institutions; and scarcely ever developed themselves into definite views and doctrines of faith. Secondly, the only *Christian national religion*, (*Judaism*.) which, in addition to its

rich symbolical cultus, was privileged with settled and definite religious doctrines; and, in regard to ethics, venerated, instead of mere customs handed down from by-gone ages, certain moral commandments,—subsisted for centuries after the destruction of the civil commonwealth, with which it had grown up, and is still in existence at this very time. Now from what has been observed, it might be argued that Islam, which altogether belongs to the category of the just designated religion of the Israelites, may be expected, like the latter, to continue, even supposing the State, with which it was first brought into existence, and with which it is so intimately united, should, in consequence of political revolutions, go to ruin. The weight of this objection may, thirdly, still more be strengthened by the remark, that Islam, (by no means in accordance with its origin, but because of its having received Christian elements) in a certain sense, stands higher than Mosaism, that, so to say, it hangs between Mosaism and Christianity, and is therefore more spiritual than the former; and hence, that, even should it be torn off from the State with which it is connected, it would be more capable of continuing its existence, than Judaism in itself.

Now, in order that it may not appear to any one, that we take but a one-sided view of the question, and entertain unfounded hopes, we shall make the following remarks regarding the assertion of Islam being thus more highly spiritual. As long as religion expresses itself only as a feeling, and therefore rests entirely in the sense, and hence occupies the lowest step she can occupy, so long also is she limited to a family, a tribe, a nation; and like as the desire to pass over her prescribed narrow limits is wanting, so also she of necessity wants the means to communicate herself and make herself understood to others beyond those limits. But as soon as feeling is developed into imagination, so soon also the religious man is desirous to communicate himself to others; and the means of communication produced in the meanwhile

exactly answer the newly created internal want. But if feeling and mere imagination pass on into the region of understanding and clear thought, and therefore into what is general—into the really spiritual; then also religion becomes universal. The faith in the being of a Deity is gradually changing with this internal transformation of man; and the idea of a limited God is changed into that of an unlimited, and the notion of many national deities into that of one God. Similar is the development of philanthropy. And to this must be attributed the irresistible, ever-powerful, and never-discouraged impulse of Christians to convert all nations, and throughout all the ages which have elapsed since Christianity was established, to leave in multitudes their native lands, and not even to fear death in the dissemination of their faith.* The first joyful look, which the Arabs, under Mohammed's guidance, so suddenly cast from the region of dark, narrow and limited feeling, into the universal serene sphere of the spirit, was just that which so powerfully urged them to leave their native country with haste, and communicate their faith to others; and although they can by no means boast of the pure, ever-living, and always burning zeal of Christians in their endeavours to spread their religion; yet, since they have left the sphere of feeling, though without advancing beyond imagination to perfect conceptions, they as far leave the Jews behind them, as the latter are surpassed by Christians. In the history of the Jews, even after they had left off wavering between monotheism as their law, and polytheism as their inclination, the desire of universality, which always accompanies monotheism, expressed itself only as earnest desire towards the idea of the Messiah, and was not able to show its vitality except by converting a few single individuals from among the heathen to their form of worship. Answering to this, we find that there

* The less cultivated a nation is, the less it troubles itself about other nations. No one travels; neither History, nor Geography is in request; and to communicate religious opinions is never thought of.

is a very important difference, according to the Jewish popular belief, in the comparative educating care which God takes of the various nations on our globe. The activity of God, according to the view entertained by Mussulmans, is by no means so limited, but more clearly conceived, and the actual reception of all men is not made so entirely dependent on mere futurity, i. e., the times of the Messiah. We also discover Mohammedanism in its cultus endeavouring to extricate itself from national limitations. When Mohammed ordained the Kebla towards Mecca, commanding his followers during the time of prayer to direct their faces towards the Kaaba, he at the same time remarked, "that God is present in whichever direction a man may look." Now, though the ordaining of the Kebla is quite in accordance with the spirit of a national faith;—for by this would be signified, that all Mussulmans, wherever they might be, or pray, should unite themselves in the Arabian national-sanctuary—the temple distinguished above all others, and so to say, the only temple in God's esteem, and by directing their faces towards it, should symbolically represent themselves as Arabs;—yet the thought of Mohammed, which has just been mentioned, has quite the stamp of an universal religion, and no Jew would have made use of a similar expression. Mohammed merely repeated, in another form, Christ's conversation with the woman of Samaria, and solved the doubts of his followers, just as the Redeemer satisfied the enquiry of the Samaritan woman, when she wished to know whether God ought to be worshipped in Jerusalem, as the Jews required, or on mount Gerizim, which was preferred by the Samaritans. In regard to ethics, also Islam endeavours to liberate itself from the limitations of national religions. The *lex talionis* is, doubtless, adopted, but still it is not altogether said "eye for eye," or "tooth for tooth." Mohammed rather remarks, that God has pleasure in pardoning offences, and promises rewards in heaven to those who pardon others. Again, in Islam the ceremonial law has not such an immense extent, and is therefore not so

burdensome ; and the ordinances do not inculcate such a very strict observation of it ; even the rite of circumcision is not formally instituted by the Koran. In short, we, in many respects, discover in Mohammedanism a freer and more spiritual position, than in Mosaism. However, notwithstanding this, we cheerfully and firmly hope, that Islam will not prolong its existence for any length of time, if torn off from the State, with which it has grown up.

Now, though it must be admitted, that the Jewish religion continued to be practised, even after national independence had been lost, and no kingdom of Judah could be said to be any longer in existence, yet it is worthy of consideration, that from this period of the Jewish history we observe, as it were, a most ardent desire of that part of the whole which still existed, i. e., religion, for the part which had gone to ruin, i. e., the State ; and in consequence thereof, we discover the bitterest and most heart-rending grief, which, notwithstanding the greatest efforts, could not altogether be suppressed, but at times broke out in the most terrific manner, till at last this unhappy people was in great part exterminated, and the remainder scattered all over our globe. Now, though Islam will, doubtless, in the event of great political revolutions, be inconsolable regarding the loss of its external part, i. e., the political, yet most certainly it will be destitute of that power, however abused, which in consequence of its Divine institution, is inherent in Judaism. The superhuman origin of Mosaism is, to the present day, the inexhaustible source of all the courage possessed by its professors ; whereas Islam, founded on deception, even if unconsciously or involuntarily so, will never produce the same in its votaries, if they should be called upon to experience trials, similar to those which the offspring of the chosen people of God have experienced. We, therefore, in this respect, deny a similarity of Islam to Judaism. And should any one, besides, discover in the joyless and comfortless, as well as powerless, torpid, and sapless religious existence of the Jews,

and in their very wonderful experiences, a signal punishment for their obstinate rejection of the Son of the living God; and should moreover consider that nation as a means to bring about high and Divine ends, which in the course of time are to be developed, then the consciousness of the Bible being on his side, may make him ample amends as regards the mockings he may, on account of this belief, have to experience from a particular quarter. Viewing the subject in this light, the justice of comparing Islam with Judaism, in respect of the fate it will have to expect when no longer propped up by the State, with which it originated and has grown to maturity, must altogether be denied.

A religion, that has the misfortune to be identified with the State, is on this very account brought into trouble by the latter, whilst the State is on all sides restricted by religion. For since under such circumstances the State has on it a Divine stamp,—as then the whole of its constitution, as well as its individual laws, possesses a character absolutely sacred;—it is evident that mere human institutions calculated only for a certain degree of culture, will be considered as being of Divine authority, and hence unchangeable. Thus very soon the State will become an unmoveable, petrified and death-like mass, and if its end be not hastened from without in a beneficent manner, will slowly entomb itself in its own corruption. At that time, however, such a State is in the most dangerous position, when it is surrounded by other nations, who having been civilized by a higher religion, possess a freer and more moveable form, and therefore are capable, without any particular restriction, of continually approaching nearer and nearer to perfection. In opposition to them it will very soon lose its stability.* But

* Let but the complaints of Abbas Mirza respecting the vegetating life of the Persians and the immoveableness of their system of Government, as well as his forebodings of an impending catastrophe be considered as related in Jaubert's travels in Armenia and Persia in the years 1805 and 1806. Weimar, 1822, p. 140. Also the complaints of the Prime Minister Mirza Schefi, p. 118.

should those, who are at the helm of Government, perceive the necessity of radical reformatations, and hence commence carrying out new plans, then the State annihilates its religious basis, wounds the roots out of which it has grown up; and therefore violent antagonistic principles must be developed, and an internal destructive dissension becomes inevitable. Politics and religion, as contradictory, now not only separate from each other, but come into hostile collision, and no third element can be discovered in them, by which their union might be brought about. The State, accordingly, at the very time when it is about to reform itself, begins to break up, since its very essence consists in its being incapable of improvement, and therefore the conviction of the necessity of a reform, may, at the same time, be considered a presentiment of its destruction.

Should what has just now been observed, be correct, then let us ask, what will be the condition of the internal part of the religion of such a State, when on the verge of dissolution, as for instance, of Islam? It must necessarily, by the ruin of the State, be at once shaken to its very foundations, and dragged into the whirlpool of destruction: for the ruin of the State will necessarily lead to conclusions on the untenableness of the religion, which established the same; and the practical disproof of the one part of its elements, the political, will of itself produce doubts regarding the truth of the other part, the religio-doctrinal. The power of Mohammed which, in the fate of his temporal sovereignty, has shown itself nothing more than human, will then in a religious aspect be scarcely considered Divine. History yields very powerful polemic weapons, and produces an impression, which surpasses all the power of dialectic art, because it disproves by facts. The palpably broken connection of the system will also change the religious security of the Mussulmans into doubtful wavering, and the contradiction between the world of historical facts and that of faith will turn itself against the latter.

Now, as has above been remarked, the more spiritual Islam is, the more it urges on its votaries to think ;—the better also will the latter be prepared to perceive its untenableness, as well as its total want of internal consistency, and to adopt Christianity. And, therefore, just in the degree in which Islam contains more universal elements, than any other national religion, it must also more decidedly develope, though gradually, the contradiction to the national particularism, which forms its basis. The universal in it, must destroy that which is particular.

Of course we cannot but feel persuaded, that the impending^{*} confusion, and the despondency as regards Mohammed, which is necessarily connected with it, will produce doubts concerning positive religion generally, as is the case in India ; where,—when in like manner many of its inhabitants clearly perceived the untenableness of the religious system handed down from their forefathers ; when they considered, that facts contradicted their faith, and that nothing appeared to harmonize ; they began to form a rationalistic party, which neither revered the religion of Christians nor that of the present Hindoos. Still greater appears to be the number of those, who look upon the religion of the Aborigines as superstition, and who at the same time do not talk against the truth of the Christian faith ; but who, notwithstanding, are unable to come to a decided resolution, and do not know how to get over the power of habit : so that an intelligent missionary has most eloquently communicated to the world, his reasons, founded on experience, for despairing of the Hindoos being converted to Christianity.* Similar appearances as in India, will assuredly show themselves among Mohammedans : such too were perceived everywhere all over the Roman Empire about the time of Christ's birth ; but only in this manner was the downfall of the old world completed ; and only on the ruins of the old was the new world

* Dubois' letters concerning the state of Christianity in India, chiefly p. 79, &c.

enabled to rise. Man does not feel any urgent want of something higher, till that which is low and mean has been altogether spent.

Hitherto we have taken it for granted, that every Christian, with ardent desire looks forward to the time in which Islam will make way for Christianity; now we recollect, that the number of those is not few, who prefer the imaginations of Islam concerning the Most High God, to the Christian notions of the Deity, and entertain regarding many, to us, scandalous, customs of Mussulmans, the opinion that they are, because of circumstances connected with the climate, if not absolutely commanded, still quite justifiable; and therefore do not hope that Islam will be abolished. But few individuals trouble themselves about investigating the speculative worth of a religious system, hence the observation will be useless for many that the monotheism of Islam does not satisfy philosophizing reason, and that it must be rejected, whenever we talk of the imaginableness or unimaginableness of a certain idea concerning God. That the Deity is *one* person, is just that, which is altogether unimaginable, thoroughly irrational, and contrary to all true speculation. That God has not become man, is just that, which is contrary to reason. But how far this results from speculative reasons, we will not now, on account of what we mentioned above, inquire. Still it must appear remarkable to every one, that any should approve of that faith, to which the expected immediate practical results are denied. Every one knows, that with perhaps the exception of poetry, Islam is no friend of the arts and sciences, and that very soon after a short energetical reception, (caused by the impulse the Greeks had given,) it neglected them.* Whereas

* Hammer, in his *Encyclopædische Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*; Leipzig, 1807. I. Vol. p. 84, quotes a passage of Moas Ben Djebell, from which it would appear that Mohammed had given his testimony in a beautiful and forcible manner to the great value of literature and science. It however appears to me to be quite impossible, that the Arabian

all praise the scientific and artistical fruitfulness of Christianity, which continually produces new creations; and which, in reality, proves inexhaustible. Now, wherein is the reason of these opposite phenomena to be discovered? Should the thought be considered so strange that this mental poverty of Mohammedans is consequent on the limits which a finite and limited spirit has placed to otherwise generally noble and powerful nations? And that on the contrary, Christianity is therefore unfolding an endless treasure of scientific developments, because its author is the Infinite Himself, and hence, because of our faith in His Divinity, and in its activity on our behalf, we possess the pledge of an immeasurable perfectability, and indeed, from being Christians, arrive at that goal, at which it is possible for man to arrive? A really Divine Spirit was breathed into the Christian Church; hence the ever-living desire to penetrate all with thought; and courageously, or at least quietly, to refer to this matter also, the words of our Divine Master, "Be ye perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect." Mohammed, on the contrary, breathed a finite spirit into his followers, and hence they have already long ago reached the limits, to which their minds could expand.

Every one praises the general acknowledgment, in Christian countries, both in public and private life, of the worth of man; the mild laws of their governments; and the liberty of their movements, which only inexperienced fanatics deny, the equality of all before the tribunal of the law, and the abolition of slavery, long ago effected. The contrary of all this is justly censured in Mohammedan countries. We therefore most justly inquire into the reason of the above mentioned phenomena

prophet could have expressed himself in this way. Doubtless such a view was, in later times, attributed to him, and most likely in order to defend the endeavours of the Abbasides. But how could he, who had no idea of science, have so beautifully expressed himself in regard to the advantages it affords? And how, in that case, could the procedure of the primitive Mussulmans, so contrary to such principles, be explained, who burnt so many libraries, if it had been contrary to Mohammed's own words?

among Christians. None can deny, that all these great phenomena are the effects of the belief, that God, merciful and gracious in Christ Jesus, has become man to redeem the world. By this belief, the value of man, and what it means to be called man, was understood; at least we know, that before this, such principles in regard to man, were not entertained, or scarcely imagined. Even republics possessed slaves. Sparta had her Helotes. A most singular constitution must have been given to human nature, if precisely that which is error, should exert such influence, as truth never has exerted. Errors, that produce such glorious, lasting, and deep effects, are truths.

He that defends polygamy as allowable for certain climates, ought also to bring forward proofs of God having adapted the moral wants of the women of those countries, to such marriages.- For if it were in accordance with the wants of the pure nature of man to possess several wives, then would there also be such an organization of the female heart corresponding to this constitution, as that several wives together could cheerfully divide among themselves the affections of one man. We however observe the contrary, notwithstanding that for years, manners and customs have done all they could to blunt domestic feelings. Jealousy has always most dreadfully tormented and torn to pieces the hearts of women, so that even the wives of the prophet could not free themselves from it, notwithstanding the idea of the happiness of being so intimately united with an Ambassador from God.*

* Abulfeda, in his *Annales Moslemici*, ad ann. fug. IX. Heisk: tom. I. p. 182 relates, that after Mohammed, in consequence of the poison, which a Jewess had mixed with a slaughtered sheep which she presented to the prophet, had been brought near the gates of death, he withdrew with the permission of his wives to the dwelling of Ayesha, to whom he was most attached, in order to await there his restoration to health, which he still hoped would take place. He, however, after having arrived at her house and being alarmed by thoughts of death, said to Ayesha, "It would be very desirable for her if she were to die before him, as he would then wrap her

In all arrangements of nature we discover the most beautiful harmony, and should we find her here so glaringly contradicting herself? Would she have implanted in man the physical want of possessing several wives; and in woman, the moral want of belonging but to one man? Nay, rather, we are compelled to look upon polygamy as contrary to nature; which is further evident from the fact, that polygamy drives away or at least, leaves scarcely a shadow behind of spiritual love in marriage.*

The external part of marriage is altogether the ruling one in polygamy, so that here again we may clearly discover the fundamental character of Islam, respecting which we have above shown, that it hangs in the midst between inner and outer, spiritual and sensual, universal and limited religion. Through Christianity, the religion of the spirit, marriage was again brought back into the region of the spirit. Just as in the Christian Church generally the spiritual and internal constitute the essence, and all which is external, is only the embodiment, the revelation, the organ of the internal, and never can be independent or possess any significance of its own, so also by this character of the Church was determined

up in the shroud with his own holy hands, and he, the prophet, would himself read for her the prayers of the departed and bury her. She, however, by no means sympathizing with him in these sentiments, replied, that she but too well knew, that in such a case he would only leave her corpse and immediately return to her dwelling in order to amuse himself with another, and to forget her who had been buried. She meant by this, that the tenderness, which the prophet said he felt for her, was altogether in contradiction with his possessing many wives.

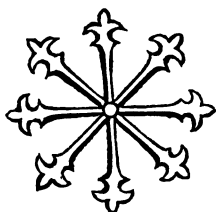
* Very remarkable are the observations which Porter has been enabled to make concerning this subject when travelling in Mussulman countries. See Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Reisen in Persien, Armenien, und dem alten Babylon*, im Laufe der Jahre 1817 und 1820, Vol. I. p. 408. Perhaps nothing is more revolting to humanity, than the treatment old women have to experience when all their external charms have vanished, and they now no longer possess any thing whatever that can engage the affections of a husband, who, when marrying, was not influenced by any higher motives.

the manner in which we consider marriage; which latter, of course, does not assume merely a spiritual appearance, which would be as faulty as the invisible without the visible Church. The spiritual, however, is the principal and the ruling element; so that a mere physical union establishes, and is called, a very different relation, from the matrimonial. How can wedded love be thought of among Mohammedans, since it gives up itself wholly and indivisibly, and requires, according to its very essence, a similar return? To describe in a few words the whole of the relation: With Mōhammedans, the wife is considered as a commodity, an instrument, a slave; and that this is their view on the subject, is proved in the most striking manner by the poor Mohammedan possessing but one wife, just as he is in possession of but few chattels; whereas, the number of wives increases with the increase of riches, and determines their amount quite as exactly as the number of camels. Now if from these observations it is quite evident, that nature, which forms the poor and the rich according to the same laws, does not require polygamy; at the same time the want of faith in that truth, which is the basis of Christianity, which has first and alone made known to man the worth of man, and which prohibits their mutually using each other as mere instruments, becomes equally apparent. We will just allude to the myths concerning creation among all nations, which expatiate on the subject before us; according to them, every where, but one wife is given to man by God, and thus the primitive view of nations as regards monogamy is proved most distinctly. Even in the warmest climates, in India for instance, the oldest religious legends know only of one wife, whom Brahma gave to the forefathers, and even in our days Brahmins look upon polygamy as an abomination.* We

* The opposite view respecting marriages among Brahmins is maintained in the Basle Mission Magazine, 8th Vol. 3rd part, p. 368, but refuted by Dubois in his letters concerning the state of Christianity in India, p. 186. [Dubois is wrong, as regards Northern India at least. The poly-

will not, however, deny that polygamy will place the greatest and most grievous hindrances in the way of spreading Christianity among Mussulmans; it is most intimately interwoven with all the relations of life, and even despotic forms of government are founded on polygamy, at least are not able to exist without it. This custom, altogether contrary to nature, has spread in all directions and deeply established itself; Divine fire alone can purify from it.

gamy of the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal is well known. The same practice prevails among some Canoujia Brahmins in the Upper Provinces; and though polygamy among Brahmins is the exception, not the rule, still it is not contrary to the Sastras.—J. M.]



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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page xii line 17 for <i>less</i> read <i>more</i>			
„ 13	„ 16	„ <i>deliver</i>	„ <i>deliver it</i>
„ 15	„ 26	„ <i>object</i>	„ <i>objects</i>
„ 22	„ 15	„ <i>to</i>	„ <i>in</i>
„ „	„ 28	„ <i>bonâ</i>	„ <i>bona</i>
„ 28	„ 2	„ <i>;</i>	„ <i>,</i>
„ 37	„ 30	„ <i>sout</i>	„ <i>sont</i>
„ 45	„ 33	} „ <i>imagination</i> „	<i>representation</i>
„ 46	„ 2		
„ „	„ 23		
„ 52	„ 7	„ <i>imaginations</i> „	<i>representations</i>

